

THE
WORKS
OF
JONATHAN SWIFT.

D.D.D.S.P.D.

WITH

NOTES HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL —

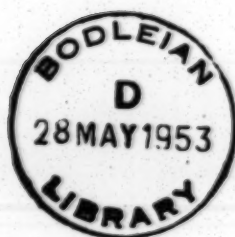
BY J. HAWKESWORTH. L.L.D.

AND OTHERS.

VOL. IX.



Printed for J. WILLIAMS Dublin 1707.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THUS, the long-wished for HISTORY of the FOUR LAST YEARS of the QUEEN's Reign is at length brought to Light, in Spight of all Attempts to suppress it!

As this Publication is not made under the Sanction of the Name or Names, which the Author and the World had a Right to expect; it is fit some Account of the Work's appearing in this Manner should be here given.

LONG before the DEAN's apparent Decline, some of his intimate Friends, with Concern, foresaw the impending Fate of his Fortune and his Works. To this, it is owing, that these Sheets, which the World now despaired of ever seeing, are rescued from Obscurity, perhaps from Destruction.

FOR this, the Public is indebted to a Gentleman, now in *Ireland*, of the greatest Probity and Worth, with whom the DEAN long lived in perfect Intimacy. To this Gentleman's Hands the DEAN intrusted a Copy of his History, desiring him to peruse
A 2 and

iv **ADVERTISEMENT.**

and give his Judgment of it, with the last Corrections and Amendments the Author had given it, in his own Hand.

His Friend read, admired, and approved. And from a Dread of so valuable and so interesting a Work's being by any Accident lost or effaced, as was probable by it's not being intended to be published in the Author's Life Time; he resolved to keep this Copy, till the Author should press him for it; but with a determined Purpose, it should never see the Light, while there was any Hopes of the Author's own Copy being published, or even preserved.

THIS Resolution, he inviolably kept, till he and the World had full Assurance, that the DEAN'S Executors, or those into whose Hands, the original Copy fell, were so far from intending to publish it, that it was actually suppressed, perhaps destroyed.

THEN, he thought himself not only at Liberty, but judged it his Duty, to his departed Friend, and to the Public, to let this Copy, which he had now kept many Years most secretly, see the Light.

THUS, it has at length fallen into the Hands of a Person, who publishes it for the Satisfaction of the Public, abstracted from all private Regards; which are never to be permitted to come in Competition with the common Good.

EVERY judicious Eye will see, that the Author of these Sheets wrote with strong
Passions,

ADVERTISEMENT. v

Passions, but with stronger Prepossessions and Prejudices in Favour of a Party. These, it may be imagined, the Editor, in some measure, may have adopted, and published this Work as a Kind of Support to that Party, or some surviving Remnant thereof.

It is but just to undeceive the Reader, and inform him from what Kind of Hand he has received this Work. A Man may regard a good Piece of Painting, while he despises the Subject: if the Subject be ever so despicable, the masterly Strokes of the Painter may demand our Admiration; while he, in other Respects, is intitled to no Portion of our Regard.

IN Poetry, we carry our Admiration still farther, and like the Poet, while we actually condemn the Man. Historians share the like Fate: hence some, who have no Regard to Propriety or Truth, are yet admired for Diction, Stile, Manner, and the like.

THE Editor considers this Work in another Light: He long knew the Author, and was no Stranger to his Politics, Connexions, Tendencies, Passions, and the whole Oeconomy of his Life. He has long been hardily singular in condemning this great Man's Conduct, amidst the admiring Multitude; nor ever could have thought of making an Interest in a Man, whose Principles and Manners, he could, by no Rule of Reason and Honour, approve, however
he

vi ADVERTISEMENT.

he might have admired his Parts and Wit.

SUCH was judged the Disposition of the Man, whose History of the most interesting Period of Time in the Annals of *Britain*, are now, herein, offered to the Reader. He may well ask from what Motives? The Answer is easily, simply given:

THE Causes assigned for delaying the Publication of this History were principally these: that the Manuscript fell into the Hands of Men, who, whatever they might have been by the generality deemed, were by the DEAN believed to be of his Party; though they did not, after his Death, judge it prudent to avow his Principles, more than to deny them in his Life-time. These Men, having got their Beavers, Tobacco-boxes, and other trifling remembrances of former Friendship, by the DEAN's Will, did not choose publicly to avow Principles, that had marred their Friend's Promotion, and might probably put a Stop to theirs: therefore, they gave the inquisitive World to understand, that there was something too strong against many great Men, as well as the succeeding System of public Affairs in general, in the DEAN's History, of the four last Years of the QUEEN's Reign, to admit of a Publication, in our Times: and, with this poor Insinuation, excused themselves, and satisfied the weakly Well-affected, in suppressing the Manifestation of displeasing Truths,

ADVERTISEMENT. vii

Truths, of however great Importance to Society.

THIS Manuscript has now fallen into the Hands of a Man, who never could associate with, or even approve any of the Parties or Factions, that have differently distracted, it might be said disgraced these Kingdoms; because, he has as yet known none, whose Motives or Rules of Action were Truth and the public Good alone; of one, who judges, that perjured Magistrates of all Denominations, and their most exalted Minions, may be exposed, deprived, or cut off, by the fundamental Laws of his Country; and who, upon these Principles, from his Heart, approves, and glories in, the Virtues of his Predecessors, who revived the true Spirit of the *British* Polity, in laying aside a priest-ridden, an hen-pecked, tyrannical Tool, who had overturned the political constitution of his Country, and in re-instituting the dissolved Body Politic, by a *Revolution*, supported by the Laws of Nature and the Realm, as the only Means of preserving the natural and legal, the civil and religious Liberties of the Members of the Commonwealth.

TRUTH, in this Man's Estimation, can hurt no good Cause. And Falsehood and Fraud, in Religion and Politics, are ever to be detected, to be exploded.

INSINUATIONS, that this History contained something injurious to the present Establishment,

viii A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

ment, and therefore necessary to be suppressed, serve better the Purposes of mistaken or insidious Mal-contents, than the real Publication can. And, if any thing were by this or any other History to be shewn essentially erroneous in our Politics; who, that calls himself a *Briton*, can be deemed such an impious Slave, as to conceal the destructive Evil? The Editor of this Work disdains and abhors the servile Thought; and wishes to live no longer, than he dare to think, speak, write, and, in all things, to act worthy of a *Briton*.

FROM this Regard to Truth and to his Country, the Editor of this History was glad of an Opportunity of rescuing such a Writing from those who meant to suppress it: the common Cause, in his Estimation, required and demanded it should be done; and the sooner it is published, he judged, the better: for, if the Conduct of the Queen and her Ministers does not deserve the obloquy that has been long industriously cast upon it; what is more just than to vindicate it? What more reasonable, than that this should be done, while living Witnesses may yet be called to prove or disprove the several Allegations and Assertions; since, in a few Years more, such Witnesses may be as much wanting, as to prevent a Canonisation, which is therefore prudently procrastinated for above an Age? Let us then coolly hear what is to be said on
this

ADVERTISEMENT. ix

this Side the Question, and judge like *Britons*.

THE Editor would not be thought to justify the Author of this History, in all Points, or even to attempt to acquit him of unbecoming Prejudices and Partiality: Without being deeply versed in History or Politics; he can see his Author, in many Instances, blinded with Passions, that disgrace the Historian, and blending with Phrases, worthy of a *Cæsar* or a *Cicero*, Expressions not to be justified by Truth, Reason or common Sense; yet think him a most powerful Orator, and a great Historian.

No unprejudiced Person will blame the DEAN, for doing all that is consistent with Truth and Decency to vindicate the Government of the QUEEN, and to exculpate the Conduct of her Ministers and her last General; all good Men would rejoice at such a Vindication. But, if he meant no more than this, his Work would ill deserve the Title of an History. That he generally tells Truths, and founds his most material Assertions upon Facts, will, I think, be found very evident. But there is room to suspect, that while he tells no more than the Truth, he does not tell the whole Truth. However, he makes it very clear that the QUEEN'S Allies, especially our worthy Friends the *Dutch*, were much to blame for the now generally condemned Conduct
of

X ADVERTISEMENT.

of the QUEEN, with regard to the Prosecution of the War and the bringing about the Peace.

The Author's Drawings of Characters are confessedly partial: for he tells us openly, *p. 9.* he means not to give Characters intire, but such Parts of each Man's particular *Passions, acquirements and Habits*, as he *was most likely to transfer into his political Schemes*. What Writing, what Sentence, what Character can stand this Torture? — What extreme Perversion may not, let me say, does not this produce? — Yet thus does he choose to treat all Men that were not Favorers of the *latest Measures* of the QUEEN, when the best that has been said for her, shews no more than that she was *blindfolded and beld in leading-strings* by her *Ministers*.

HE does not spare a Man, confessed by all the World to have discharged the Duties of his Function like a Soldier, like an Hero. But charges Prince EUGENE with raising and keeping up a most horrible Mob, with Intent to assassinate *Harley*. For all which odious Charges, he offers not one individual Point of Proof.

HE is not content with laying open again the many Faults already publicly proved upon the late Duke of *Marlborough*, but insinuates a new Crime, by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the Throne. But this is done in a Manner peculiar to this Author.

ON

ADVERTISEMENT. xi

ON the other Hand, he extols the Ministers and Minions of the QUEEN in the highest Terms; and while he robs their Antagonists of every good Quality, generally gives those Wisdom and every Virtue that can adorn human Nature.

HE is not ashamed to attempt to justify, what all thinking good Men must condemn, the QUEEN's making twelve Peers at once, to serve a particular Turn.

ALL these may be ascribed to the Strength of his Passions, and to the Prejudices, early imbibed, in Favor of his indulgent royal Mistress and her Favorites and Servants. The judicious will look through the elegant Cloathing, and dispassionately consider these as mere human Errors, to which no well-informed Mind can assent. The Editor thinks himself bound to protest against them.

HE makes a few Lapses on the other Side, without being as clear as an impartial Historian would choose to appear. He more than hints at the QUEEN's Displeasure at it's being moved in parliament, that the Prince ELECTOR should be invited to reside in *England*, to whose Crown he was by Law declared Presumptive Heir. But is always open upon the QUEEN's insisting on the *Pretender's* being sent out of *France*. —It is easy to see how incompatible these Things appear: Nothing could tend more to secure the *Hanover* Succession, and to
inlarge

xii ADVERTISEMENT.

inlarge it's Benefits to *Britain*, than the bringing over the Successor, who should, in every Country, be well instructed in the Language, Customs, Manners, Religion and Laws of his future Subjects, before he comes to hold the Reins of Government. And, our Author does not take the proper Care to inform us how far the *French* thought fit to comply with banishing the *Pretender* their Dominions; since many still live in doubt, that if he was sent out of *France*, he was sent into *England*.

BUT there is one Expression of our Author too perverse, too grossly abused, to admit of any Apology, of any Palliation. It is not to be supposed, that he was ignorant of any Word in the *English* Language. And least of all can he be supposed ignorant of the Meaning of a Word, which had it been ever so doubtful before, had a certain Meaning impressed upon it by the Authority of Parliament, of which no sensible Subject can be ignorant.

Notwithstanding this, where our Author speaks of the late King *James*, he calls him the *abdicated King*, and gives the same Epithet even to his Family. Though this weak, ill-advised, and ill-fated Prince, in every Sense of the Word, with *Romans* and *English*, and to all Intents and Purposes, *abdicated*; yet can he, in no Sense be called *abdicated*; unless the People's asserting their Rights, and defending themselves a-
gainst

ADVERTISEMENT. xiii

gainst a King, who broke his Compact with his Subjects, and overturned their Government, can be called *Abdication* in them; which no Man in his Senses can be hardy enough to support upon any Principle of Reason or the Laws of *England*. Let the Reader judge which this is most likely to be, Error or Design.

These Exceptions, the Editor thought himself bound to make to some Parts of this Work, to keep clear of the disagreeable Imputations of being of a Party, of whatsoever Denomination, in Opposition to Truth and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

These laid aside, the Work will be found to have many Beauties, many Excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this History, from an Insinuation, made only since the Author's Death; to wit, that he was never admitted into the Secrets of the Administration, but made to believe he was a Confident, only to engage him in the List of the ministerial Writers of that Reign.

The Falseness of this will readily appear upon perusal of the Work. This shews he knew the most secret Springs of every Movement in the whole complicated Machine. That he states Facts, too well known to be contested, in elegant Simplicity, and reasons upon them with the Talents of the greatest Historian. And thus makes an History, composed rather of Negotiations

xiv A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

gotiations than Actions, most entertaining, affecting and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull and disagreeable.

It is now fit to apologise for some Errors, which the judicious must discover upon a Perusal of this Work. It is for this, among other Reasons much to be lamented, that this History was not published under the Author's own Inspection. It is next to impossible to copy or print any Work without Faults, and most so, where the Author's Eye is wanting.

It is not to be imagined, that even our Author, however accurate, however great, was yet strictly and perfectly correct in his Writings. Yet, where some seeming Inaccuracies in Stile or Expression have been discovered; the Deference due to the Author made any Alteration too presumptuous a Task for the Editor. These are therefore left to the amending Hand of every sensible and polite Reader.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.
BOOK I.

I Propose to give the Publick an Account of the most important Affairs at Home, during the last Session of Parliament, as well as of our Negotiations of Peace Abroad, not only during that Period, but some Time before and since. I shall relate the chief Matters transacted by both Houses in that Session, and discover the Designs carried on by the Heads of a discontented Party, not only against the Ministry, but in some Manner against the Crown itself; I likewise shall state the Debts of the Nation, shew by what Mismanagement and to serve what Purposes they were at first contracted, by what Negligence or Corruption they have so prodigiously grown, and what

what Methods have since been taken to provide not only for their Payment, but to prevent the like Mischief for the Time to come. Although, in an Age like ours, I can expect very few impartial Readers, yet I shall strictly follow Truth, or what reasonably appeared to me to be such, after the most impartial Inquiries I could make, and the best Opportunities of being informed by those who were the principal Actors or Advisers.

NEITHER shall I mingle Panegyrick or Satire with an History intended to inform Posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present Age, who may be ignorant or misled; since Facts, truly related, are the best Applauses, or most lasting Reproaches.

DISCOURSES upon Subjects relating to the Publick, usually seem to be calculated for *London* only, and some few Miles about it; while the Authors suppose their Readers to be informed of several Particulars, to which those that live remote are, for the generality, utter Strangers. Most People who frequent this Town, acquire a Sort of smattering (such as it is), which qualifies them for reading a Pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by Inuendoes or Hints at Facts or Persons, initial Letters of Names, wherein Gentlemen at a Distance, although perhaps of much better Understandings, are wholly in the Dark: wherefore, that these Memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible
and

and useful, it will be convenient to give the Reader a short View of the State and Disposition of Affairs, when the last Session of Parliament began; and because the Party-Leaders, who had lost their Power and Places, were, upon that Juncture, employing all their Engines in an Attempt to re-establish themselves, I shall venture one Step farther, and represent so much of their Characters, as may be supposed to have influenced their Politics.

ON the seventh Day of *December*, 1711, began the second Session of Parliament. It was now above a Year since the Queen had thought fit to put the Great Offices of State, and of her Household, into other Hands. However, three of the discontented Lords were still in possession of their Places; for the D— of M— l— b continued General, the D— of S— r f— t Master of the Horse, and the E— of Cb— lm— d— y, Treasurer of her Majesty's Household; likewise great Numbers of the same Party still kept Employments of Value and Importance, which had not been usual of late Years upon any Change of a Ministry. The Queen, who judged the Temper of her People by this House of Commons, which a landed Interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable Peace, and disposed to leave the Management of it to her own Wisdom, and that of her Council. She had

B

therefore

therefore, several Months before the Session began, sent to inform the States-General of some Overtures which had been made her by the Enemy, and during that Summer her Majesty took several further Steps in this great Affair, until at length, after many Difficulties, a Congress for a general Treaty at *Utrecht* was agreed upon; the whole Proceedings of which previous Negotiations between our Court and that of *France*, I shall, in its proper Place very particularly relate.

THE Nation was already upon a better Foot with respect to its Debts, for the Earl of *Orford*, Lord Treasurer, had, in the preceding Session, proposed and effected Ways and Means in the House of Commons (where he was then a Member) for providing a parliamentary Fund to clear the heavy Arrear of Ten Millions (whereof the greatest Part lay upon the Navy) without any new burthen (at least after a very few Years) to the Kingdom, and at the same time he took care to prevent further Incumbrances upon that Article, by finding ready Money for Naval Provisions, which hath saved the Public somewhat more than *Cent per Cent* in that mighty Branch of our Expences.

THE Clergy were altogether in the Interests and the Measures of the present Ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their Defence, during a Prosecution against
one

one of their Members, where the whole sacred Order was understood to be concerned. The Zeal shewn for that most religious Bill to settle a Fund for building fifty new Churches in and about the City of *London*, was a fresh Obligation, and they were farther highly gratified by her Majesty chusing one of their Body to be a great Officer of State *.

By this time likewise all Disputes about these Principles, which used originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped; and those fantastical Words ought in Justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient Names, whereby to distinguish Lovers of Peace, from Lovers of War, or those who would leave her Majesty some Degree of Freedom in the Choice of her Ministers, from others who could not be satisfied with her chusing any, except such as she was most averse from. But where a Nation is once divided, Interest and Animosity will keep open the Breach, without being supported by any other Principles; or at worst, a Body of discontented People can change, and take up what Principles they please. As to the Disposition of the opposite Party, we all remember, that the Removal of the last Ministry was brought about by several

* Dr. *Robinson*, Lord Bishop of *Bristol*, to be Lord Privy-Seal.

Degrees, through which means it happened, that they and their Friends were hardly recovered out of one Astonishment, before they fell into another ; this Scene lasted for some Months, and was followed by a Period of Rage and Despair natural to those, who reflect that they have lost a secure Game by their own Rashness, Folly, and want of common Management, when at the same time they knew by Experience, that a watchful and dexterous Adversary lay ready to take the Advantage ; however, some time before the Session, the Heads of that Party began to recollect themselves, and rally their Forces, like an Enemy that hath been beaten out of the Field, but finds he is not pursued ; for although the Chiefs of this Faction were thought to have but little Esteem or Friendship for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general End of distressing, by all possible Methods, the new Administration, wherein if they could succeed so far as to put the Queen under any great Necessity, another Parliament must be called, and perhaps the Power devolve again into their own Hands.

THE Issue and Event of that grand Confederacy appearing in both Houses, although under a different Form, upon the very first Day the Parliament met, I cannot better begin the Relation of Affairs, commencing from that Period, than by a thorough Detection of the whole Intrigue,
carried

carried on with the greatest Privacy and Application, which must be acknowledged to have, for several Days, disconcerted some of the Ministry, as well as dispirited their Friends, and the Consequences whereof have in reality been so very pernicious to the Kingdom.

BUT because the principal Leaders in this Design are the same Persons, to whom since the Loss of their Power, all the Opposition has been owing, which the Court received either in Treaties abroad, or the Administration at home, it may be not improper to describe those Qualities in each of them, which few of their Admirers will deny, and which appears chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several Parts upon the public Stage ; For I do not intend to draw their Characters intire, which would be tedious, and little to the Purpose, but shall only single out those Passions, Acquirements, and Habits, which the Owners were most likely to transfer into their political Schemes, and which were most subservient to the Designs they seemed to have in View.

THE Lord *S—m — rs* may very deservedly be reputed the Head and Oracle of that Party ; he hath raised himself by the Concurrence of many Circumstances, to the greatest Employments of the State, without the least Support from Birth or Fortune ; he hath constantly, and with great Steadiness, cultivated those Principles under

which he grew. That Accident which first produced him into the World, of pleading for the Bishops whom King *James* had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of Merit as honourable as it was fortunate ; but the old Republican Spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other Lessons ; that since we had accepted a new King from a Calvinistical Commonwealth, we must likewise admit new Maxims in Religion and Government : But since the Nobility and Gentry would probably adhere to the Established Church, and to the Rights of Monarchy, as delivered down from their Ancestors, it was the Practice of these Politicians to introduce such Men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no Religion, and who were not likely to inherit much Loyalty from those to whom they owed their Birth. Of this Number was the Person I am now describing : I have hardly known any Man with Talents more proper to acquire and preserve the Favour of a Prince ; never offending in Word or Gesture, which were in the highest Degree courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent Example to his Colleagues, which they did not think fit to follow : But this extreme Civility, which is universal and undistinguished, and in private Conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest Assembly, is sometimes censured as formal.

Two Reasons are assigned for this Behaviour : First, That from the Consciousness of his humble Original, he keepeth all Familiarity at the utmost Distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude : The second, That being sensible how subject he is to violent Passions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own Example, to keep a great way within the Bounds of Decency and Respect. And it is indeed true, that no Man is more apt to take Fire upon the least Appearance of Provocation, which Temper he strives to subdue with the utmost Violence upon himself ; so that his Breast has been seen to heave, and his Eyes to sparkle with Rage, in those very Moments when his Words and the Cadence of his Voice were in the humblest and softest manner. Perhaps, that Force upon his Nature, may cause that insatiable Love of Revenge, which his Detractors lay to his Charge, who, consequently reckon Dissimulation among his chief Perfections. Avarice he hath none, and his Ambition is gratified by being the uncontested Head of his Party. With an excellent Understanding, adorned by all the polite Parts of Learning, he hath very little Taste for Conversation, to which he prefers the Pleasure of Reading and Thinking, and in the Intervals of his Time amuseth himself with an illiterate

Chaplain, an humble Companion, or a favourite Servant.

THESE are some few distinguishing Marks in the Character of that Person who now presideth over the discontented Party, although he be not answerable for all their Mistakes ; and if his Precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their Power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish Prosecution of *Dr. Sacheverall*, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their Ruin : That he blamed the rough Demeanour of some Persons to the Queen, as a great Failure in Prudence ; and that when it appeared her Majesty was firmly resolved into a Treaty of Peace, he advised his Friends not to oppose it in its Progress, but find Fault with it after it was made, which would be a Copy of the like Usage themselves had met with after the Treaty of *Ryswick*, and the safest, as well as the most probable way of disgracing the Promoters and Advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the Reader some Idea of this extraordinary Genius, because whatever Attempt hath hitherto been made with any Appearance of Conduct, or Probability of Success, to restore the Dominion of that Party, was infallibly contrived by him ; and I prophecy the same for the future,

future, as long as his Age and Infirmitiës will leave him capable of Business.

THE D——e of M——l——b's Character hath been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a Nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either Side, without the Suspicion of Flattery or Detraction. I shall say nothing of his military Accomplishments, which the opposite Reports of his Friends and Enemies among the Soldiers, have rendered problematical : But if he be among those who delight in War, it is agreed to be not for the Reasons common with other Generals. Those Maligners, who deny him personal Valour, seem not to consider that this Accusation is charged at a Venture, since the Person of a wise General is too seldom exposed, to form any Judgment in the Matter ; and that Fear which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an Action, might probably be more for his Army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory Principle, and continued with a strong Byass that Way, till the other Party had bid higher for him than his Friends could afford to give. His Want of Literature is in some sort supplied by a good Understanding, a Degree of natural Elocution, and that Knowledge of the World, which is learned in Armies and Courts. We are not to take the Height of his Ambition from his soliciting to be General for Life, I am persuaded his chief

Motive was the Pay and Perquisites by continuing the War, and that he had then no Intention of settling the Crown in his Family, his only Son having been dead some Years before : He is noted to be Master of great Temper, able to govern or very well disguise his Passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his Love of Wealth. That Liberality which Nature has denied him, with respect of Money, he makes up by a great Profusion of Promises ; but this Perfection so necessary in Courts, is not very successful in Camps among Soldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

HIS Wife, the D——s, may justly challenge her Place in this List ; it is to her the D——e is chiefly indebted for his Greatness and his Fall. For above Twenty Years she possessed, without a Rival, the Favours of the most indulgent Mistress in the World ; nor ever missed one single Opportunity that fell in her Way, of improving it to her own Advantage : She hath preserved a tolerable Court Reputation, with Respect of Love and Gallantry ; but three Furies reigned in her Breast, the most mortal Enemies of all softer Passions, which were sordid Avarice, disdainful Pride, and ungovernable Rage. By the last of these often breaking out in Sallies of the most unpardonable Sort, she had long alienated her Sovereign's Mind before it appeared to the World. This Lady is not
without

without some Degree of Wit, and hath, in her Time, affected the Character of it by the usual Method of arguing against Religion, and proving the Doctrine of Christianity to be impossible and absurd; imagine what such a Spirit, irritated by the Loss of Power, Favour and Employment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have said enough.

THE next in order to be mentioned, is the Earl of *G—lp—n*. It is said he was originally intended for a Trade, before his Friends preferred him to be a Page at Court, which some very unjustly have objected as a Reproach. He hath risen gradually in four Reigns, and was more constant to his second Master King *James*, than some others who had received much greater Obligations; for he attended the abdicated King to the Sea-side, and kept constant Correspondence with him, till the Day of his Death. He always professed a Sort of a Passion for the Queen at *St. Germain's*, and his Letters were to her in a Stile of what the *French* call *Double-Entendre*, in a Mixture of Love and Respect; he used frequently to send her from hence, little Presents of those Things which are agreeable to Ladies, for which he always asked King *William's* Leave, as if without her Privy; because if she had known that Circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting

sulting the Aspect of this Lord, that his predominant Passions were Love and Play. That he could sometimes scratch out a Song in Praise of his Mistress with a Pencil and a Card, or that he hath Tears at Command, like a Woman, to be used either in an Intrigue of Gallantry or Politics. His Alliance with the *M — b* Family, and his Passion for the *D — s*, were the Cords which dragged him into a Party whose Principles he naturally disliked, and whose Leaders he personally hated as they did him; he became a thorough Convert by a perfect Trifle, taking Pet at a Nick-Name * delivered by Doctor *Secheveral*, with great Indiscretion from the Pulpit, which he applied to himself. And this is one among many Instances given by his Enemies, that Magnanimity is none of his Virtues.

THE E. of *S — d* is another of that Alliance. It seems to have been this Gentleman's Fortune to have learned his Divinity from his * * * *, and his Politics from his Tutor †. It may be thought a Blemish in his Character, that he hath much fallen from the Height of these Republican Principles with which he began; for in his Father's Life-time, while he was a Member of the House of Commons, he would often,

* *Volpone*.

† Dr. *Trimmel*, since Bishop of *Winton*.

among his familiar Friends, refuse the Title of Lord (as he hath done to my self) swear that he would never be called otherwise than *Cb — s S — r*, and hoped to see the Day when there should not be a Peer in *England*. His Understanding, at the best, is of the middling Size, neither hath he much improved it either in Reality, or which is very unfortunate, even in the Opinion of the World, by an overgrown Library; it is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough Way of treating his Sovereign from the Lady he is allied to, or whether it be the Result of his own Nature, the Sense of the Injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) Implacable towards those to whom he hath given greatest Cause to complain; for which Reason he will never forgive either the Queen, or the present Treasurer.

THE E. of *Wb — n* hath filled the Province allotted him by his Collegues, with Sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all; he hath imbibed his Father's * Principles in Government, but dropt his Religion and took up no other in its stead; excepting that Circumstance, he is a firm Presbyterian: He is perfectly skilled in all the Arts of Managing at Elections, as well as

* The Earl his Father was a rigid Presbyterian.

in large Baits of Pleasure for making Converts of young Men of Quality upon their first Appearance ; in which Public Service he contracted such large Debts, that his Brethren were forced, out of mere Justice, to leave *Ireland* at his Mercy, where he had only time to set himself right ; although the graver Heads of his Party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him ; for besides his Talents abovementioned, he is very useful in Parliament, being a ready Speaker, and content to employ his Gift upon such Occasions, where those who conceive they have any Remainder of Reputation or Modesty, are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an incontestable Instance to discover the true Nature of Faction, since being over-run with every Quality, which produceth Contempt and Hatred in all other Commerce of the World, he hath notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a Figure.

THE Lord C——r, although his Merits are later than the rest, deserveth a Rank in this great Council ; he was considerable in the Station of a practising Lawyer ; but as he was raised to be a Chancellor and a Peer, without passing through any of the intermediate Steps which in late Times hath been the constant Practice ; and little skilled in the Nature of Government, or the true Interest of Princes further than the Municipal or Common Law of *England*, his Abilities,

Abilities, as to Foreign Affairs, did not equally appear in the Council ; some improper Passages of his Life were thought to disqualify him for that Office, by which he was to be the Guardian of the Queen's Conscience ; but these Difficulties were easily over-ruled by the Authors of his Promotion, who wanted a Person would be subservient to all their Designs, wherein they were not disappointed : As to his other Accomplishments, he was what we usually call a Piece of a Scholar and a good Logical Reasoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious Way of Managing an Argument, which makes him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

THE last to be spoken of in this List is the Earl of *N——m*, a Convert and Acquisition to that Party since their Fall, to which he contributed his Assistance, I mean his Words and probably his Wishes ; for he had always lived under the constant visible Profession of Principles directly opposite to those of his new Friends ; his vehement and frequent Speeches against admitting the Prince of *Orange* to the Throne are yet to be seen ; and although a numerous Family gave a spacious Pretence to his Love of Power and Money for taking an Employment under that Monarch, yet he was allowed to have always kept a Reserve of Allegiance to his exiled Master, of which his Friends produce several Instances, and
some

some while he was Secretary of State to King *W—m*; his outward Regularity of Life, his Appearance of Religion, and seeming Zeal for the Church, as they are an Effect so they are the Excuse of that Stiffness and Formality with which his Nature is fraught; his adust Complexion disposeth him to Rigour and Severity, which his Admirers palliate with the Name of Zeal: No Man had ever a sincerer Countenance, or more truly representing his Mind and Manners: He hath some Knowledge in the Law, very amply sufficient to defend his Property at least; a Faculty of Utterance descended to him from his Father, and improved by a few Sprinklings of Literature, hath brought himself and some few Admirers into an Opinion of his Eloquence: He is every Way inferior to his Brother *G—y*, but chiefly in those Talents which he most values and pretends to, over whom nevertheless he preserveth an Ascendant; his great Ambition was to be the Head of those, who were called the Church Party; and indeed his grave solemn Deportment and Countenance, seconded by Abundance of Professions for their Service, had given many of them an Opinion of his Veracity, which he interpreted as their Sense of his Judgment and Wisdom, and this Mistake lasted till the time of his Defection, of which it was partly the Cause; but then it plainly appeared, that he
had

had not Credit to bring over one single Profelyte to keep himself in Countenance.

THESE Lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the Readers Imaginations to conceive what Sort of Persons those were, who had the Boldness to encounter the Queen and Ministry, at the Head of a great Majority of the Landed Interest; and this upon a Point, where the Quiet of her Majesty's Reign, the Security, or, at least, the Freedom of her Person, the Lives of her most faithful Friends, and the settling of the Nation by a Peace, were in the Consequences deeply concerned.

DURING the Dominion of the late Men in Power, Addresses had been procured from both Houses to the Queen, representing their Opinion, that no Peace could be secure with *Britain* while *Spain*, or the *West Indies*, remained in the Possession of the *Bourbon* Family; but her Majesty having for Reasons, which have been often told to the World, and which will not be soon forgotten, called a new Parliament, and chose a new Set of Servants, began to view Things and Persons another Light; she considered the Necessities of her People, the distant Prospect of a Peace upon such an improbable Condition, which was never mentioned or understood in the Grand Alliance, the unequal Burthen she bore in the War, by the Practices of the Allies upon the Corruption of some whom she most trusted, or
perhaps

perhaps by the Practices of these, upon the Allies, and lastly, by the Changes which Death had brought about in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* Families; upon all which Motives she was prevailed upon to receive some Overtures from *France* in behalf of herself and the whole Confederacy; the several Steps of this Negotiation from its first Rise to the Time I am now writing, shall be related in another Part of this History, let it suffice for the present to say, that such Proposals were received from *France* as were thought sufficient, by our Court, whereupon to appoint Time and Place for a General Treaty; and soon after the Opening of the Session, the Bishop of *Bristol**, Lord Privy Seal, was dispatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the Earl of *Strafford* were appointed Plenipotentiaries for the Queen of *Great Britain*.

THE Managers of the discontented Party, who during the whole Summer had observed the Motions of the Court running fast towards a Peace, began to gather up all their Forces, in order to oppose her Majesty's Designs when the Parliament should meet; their only Strength was in the House of Lords, where the Queen had a very crazy Majority, made up by those whose Hearts were in the other Interest, but whose Fears, Expectations, or immediate Dependance, had hitherto

* Dr. *Robinson* afterwards Bishop of *London*.

kept them within Bounds ; there were two Lords upon whose Abilities and Influence, of a very different Nature, the Managers built their strongest Hopes. The first was the Duke of * * * , Master of the Horse : This Duke as well as his Dutches, were in a good Degree of Favour with the Queen, upon the score of some Civilities and Respects her Majesty had received from them while she was Princess ; for some Years after the Revolution he never appeared at Court, but was looked upon as a Favourer of the Abdicated Family ; and it was the late Earl of *Rochester* who first presented him to King *William*. However, since the time he came into Employment, which was towards the Close of the last Reign, he hath been a constant zealous Member of the other Party, but never failed either in Attendance or Respect towards the Queen's Person, or at most only threatened sometimes, that he would serve no longer while such or such Men were employed, which, as Things went then, was not reckoned any Offence at all against Duty or good Behaviour ; he had been much caressed and flattered by the Lords of the *Juncto* *, who sometimes went so far, as to give him hopes of the Crown in Reversion to his Family upon Failure of the House of *H---* ; all this worked so far upon his

* A Cant given to five Lords of that Party.

Imagination,

Imagination, that he affected to appear the Head of their Party, to which his Talents were no way proportioned, for they soon grew weary of his indigested Schemes and his imperious Manner of obtruding them; they began to drop him at their Meetings, or contradicted him with little Ceremony when he happened to be there, which his haughty Nature was not able to brook: Thus a mortal Quarrel was kindled between him and the whole Assembly of Party Leaders; so that upon the Queen's first Intentions of Changing her Ministry, soon after the Trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, he appointed several Meetings with Mr. *Harley* alone, in the most private Manner, in Places and at Times least liable to Suspicion. He employed all his Credit with the Queen to drive on the Removal of my Lord *Godolphin* and the rest; and in the Council treated the small Remainder, who continued sometime longer in their Places, with all possible Marks of Hatred or Disdain; but when the Question came for dissolving the Parliament, he stopped short. He had already satiated his Resentments, which were not against Things, but Persons; he furiously opposed that Council, and promised to undertake for the Parliament himself: When the Queen had declared her Pleasure for the Dissolution, he flew off in a greater Rage than ever, opposed the Court in all Elections where he had Influence or Power, and made very humble

ble Advances to reconcile himself with the discarded Lords, especially the Earl of G——n, who is reported to have treated at *New-market* in a most contemptuous Manner; but the Sincerity of his Repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first Session of the New Parliament, and the Use he might be of by his own remaining Credit, or rather that of his Dutcheſs, with the Queen, at length begat a Reconcilement: He ſtill kept his Employment and Place in the Cabinet Council, but had never appeared there from an avowed Diſlike of all Perſons and Proceedings: It happened about the End of Summer 1711, at *Windſor*, when the Cabinet Council was ſummoned, this Duke, whether by Directions from his Teachers, or the Inſtability of his Nature, took a fancy to reſume his Place, and a Chair was brought accordingly, upon which Mr. *Secretary St. John* reſuſed to Aſſiſt, and gave his Reaſons, that he would never ſit in Council with a Man who had ſo often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a Faction which endeavoured to obſtruct all her Maſteſty's Meaſures. Thus the Council was put off to next Day, and the Duke made no farther Attempts to be there; but upon this Incident he declared open War againſt the Miniſtry, and from that Time to the Session employed himſelf in ſpiriting up ſeveral depending Lords to adhere

adhere to their Friends when an Occasion should offer. The Arguments he made use of were, that those in Power designed to make an ignominious and unsecure Peace, without consulting the Allies ; that this could be no otherwise prevented than by an Address from the Lords to signify their Opinion, that no Peace could be honourable or secure, while *Spain* or the *West Indies* remained in any of the *Bourbon* Family, upon which several farther Resolutions and Enquiries would naturally follow ; that the Differences between the two Houses upon this must either be made up by the Commons agreeing with the Lords, or must end in a Dissolution, which would be followed by a return of the old Ministry, who, by the Force of Money and Management, could easily get another Parliament to their Wishes : He farther assured them boldly, that the Queen herself was at the Bottom of this Design, and had empowered him to desire their Votes against the Peace, as a Point that would be for her Service, and therefore they need not be in Pain upon Account of their Pensions, or any farther Marks of Favour they expected. Thus by reviving the old Art of using her Majesty's Authority against her Person, he prevailed over some who were not otherwise in a Station of Life to oppose the Crown, and his Profelytes may pretend to some Share of Pity, since he

offered for an Argument his own Example, who kept his Place and Favour after all he had done to deserve the Loss of both.

THE other Lord, in whom the discontented Managers placed much of their Hopes, was the Earl of *N* ——— *m* already mentioned, than whom no Man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their Fall, partly from his avowed Principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had in sharing their Spoils; but it fell out that he was no way acceptable to the Queen or her new Servants; these apprehended no little Trouble and Impediment to the Public Business, from his restless, talkative, overweening Manner, if once he was suffered to have any Part in Affairs, and he stood very ill with the Court, having made a Motion in the House of Lords, and in her Majesty's Presence, that the Electoral Prince of *Hanover* might be invited to reside in *England*, although he had before declared to the Queen, how much he was against that Proposal when it was first offered by the other Party. However, some very considerable Employments had been given to his nearest Relations, and he had one or two Offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his Merits and Character. Upon the Earl of *Rochester's* Decease he conceived that the Crown would hardly

hardly overlook him for President of the Council, and deeply resented that Disappointment; but the Duke of *Newcastle*, Lord Privy Seal, dying some time after, he found that Office was first designed for the Earl of *Jersey*, and upon this Lord's sudden Death was actually disposed of to the Bishop of *Bristol*; by which he plainly saw that the Queen was determined against giving him any Opportunity of directing in Affairs, or displaying his Eloquence in the Cabinet Council; he had now shaken off all Remains of Patience or Temper, and from the Contemplations of his own Disappointments fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the Publick Management, and to assure his Neighbours in the Country, that the Nation was in imminent Danger of being ruined. The discontented Lords were soon apprized of this great Change, and the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Earl's Son-in-law, was dispatched down to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his present Dispositions, and offer him whatever Terms he pleased to insist on. The Earl immediately agreed to fall in with any Measures for distressing or destroying the Ministry: But in order to preserve his Reputation with the Church-Party, and perhaps bring them over to his Interests, he proposed that a Bill should be brought into the House of Lords, for preventing occasional Conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all
the

the Peers of the Low-Church Principle, which would convince the World of their good Intentions to the Established Religion, and that their Oppositions to the Court wholly proceeded from their Care of the Nation, and Concern for its Honour and Safety. These Preparations were publick enough, and the Ministers had sufficient Time to arm themselves, but they seem to have acted, in this Juncture, like Men who trusted to the Goodness of their Cause, and the general Inclinations of the Kingdom, rather than to those Arts which our Corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed that there would be a Majority of ten upon the Side of the Court. I remember to have told my Lord *Harcourt* and Mr. *Prior*, that a Majority of ten was only a Majority of five; because if their Adversaries could bring off five, the Number would be equal; and so it happened to prove, for the Mistake lay in counting upon the bare Promises of those who were wholly in the Interest of the old Ministry, and were only kept in Awe by the fear of offending the Crown, and losing their Subsistence, wherein the Duke of *Somerset* had given them full Satisfaction. With these Dispositions of both Parties, and Fears and Hopes of the Event, the Parliament met upon the seventh of *December*, 1711. The Queen's Speech (excepting what related to

C

Supplies)

Supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both Houses what Progress she had made towards a general Peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a speedy Conclusion. As soon as her Majesty was withdrawn, the House of Lords, in a Committee, resolved upon an Address of Thanks, to which the Earl of *Nottingham* proposed an Addition of the following Clause; “— and we do
 “ beg Leave to represent it to your Ma-
 “ jesty, as the humble Opinion and Ad-
 “ vice of this House, that no Peace can
 “ be safe or honourable to *Great Britain* or
 “ *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* are
 “ to be allotted to any Branch of the House
 “ of *Bourbon*.”

HE was seconded by the Earl of *Scarborough*, and after a Debate of several Hours, the Question for the Clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two Voices. The next Day the House agreed with the Committee, the depending Lords having taken fresh Courage from their Principals, and some who professed themselves very humble Servants to the present Ministry, and Enemies to the former, went along with the Stream, pretending not to see the Consequences that must visibly follow. The Address was presented on the Eleventh, to which her Majesty's Answer was very short and dry: She distinguished their Thanks from the rest of the Piece, and in return to Lord *Nottingham*'s Clause,
 said

said, she should be sorry that any Body could think she would not do her utmost Endeavours to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*. Upon the fifteenth of *December* the Earl of *Nottingham* likewise brought in the Bill to prevent occasional Conformity (although under a disguised Title) which met with no Opposition, but was swallowed by those very Lords who always appeared with the utmost Violence against the least Advantage to the Established Church. But in the House of Commons there appeared a very different Spirit; for when one Mr. *Robert Walpole* offered a Clause of the same Nature with that of the Earl of *Nottingham*, it was rejected with Contempt, by a very great Majority. Their Address was in the most dutiful Manner, approving what her Majesty had done towards a Peace, and trusting intirely to her Wisdom in the future Management of it. This Address was presented to the Queen a Day before that of the Lords, and received an Answer distinguishedly gracious: But the other Party was no ways discouraged by either Answer, which they looked upon as only Matter of course, and the Sense of the Ministry, contrary to that of the Queen.

THE Parliament sat as long as the approaching Festival would allow, and upon the twenty-second, the Land-Tax and Occasional Bills having received the Royal

Assent, the House of Commons adjourned to the fourteenth of *January* following ; but the Adjournment of the Lords was only to the second, the prevailing Party there being in haste to pursue the Consequences of the Earl of *Nottingham's* Clause, which they hoped would end in the Ruin of the Treasurer, and overthrow the Ministry ; and therefore took the Advantage of this Interval, that they might not be disturbed by the Commons.

WHEN this Address against any Peace without *Spain*, &c. was carried in the House of Lords, it is not easy to describe the Effects it had upon most Men's Passions ; the Partizans of the old Ministry triumphed loudly, and without any Reserve, as if the Game were their own. The Earl of *Wharton* was observed in the House to smile, and put his Hands to his Neck, when any of the Ministry was speaking, by which he would have it understood that some Heads were in Danger. *Parker* the Chief-Justice, began already with great Zeal and Officiousness to prosecute Authors and Printers of weekly and other Papers, writ in Defence of the Administration. In short, Joy and Vengeance sat visible in every Countenance of that Party.

ON the other Side, all Well-wishers to the Queen, the Church, or the Peace, were equally dejected, and the Treasurer stood the foremost Mark both of his Enemies

Fury, and the Censure of his Friends. Among the latter, some imputed this fatal Miscarriage to his procrastinating Nature : others, to his unmeasurable public Thrift ; Both Parties agreed, that a First Minister, with very moderate Skill in Affairs, might easily have governed the Event ; and some began to doubt whether the great Fame of his Abilities, acquired in other Stations, were what he justly deserved. All this he knew well enough, and heard it with Phlegm, neither did it make any Alterations in his Countenance or Humour ; he told *Monf. Buys* the *Dutch* Envoy, two Days before the Parliament sat, that he was sorry for what was like to pass, because the *States* would be the first Sufferers, which he desired the Envoy to remember ; and to his nearest Friends, who appeared in Pain about the Public or themselves, he only said, that all would be well, and desired them not to be frightened.

It was, I conceive, upon these Motives, that the Treasurer advised her Majesty to create twelve new Lords, and thereby disable the Sting of Faction for the rest of her Life. This Promotion was so ordered, that a third Part of those on whom, or their Posterity, the Peerage would naturally devolve, and the rest were such, whose Merit, Birth, and Fortune could admit of no Exception.

THE adverse Party being thus driven down by open Force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did, that it was a pernicious Example, set for ill Princes to follow, who, by the same Rule, might make at any Time an hundred as well as twelve, and by these means become Masters of the House of Lords whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our Liberties. To this it was answered, that ill Princes seldom trouble themselves to look for Precedents ; that Men of great Estates will not be less fond of preserving their Liberties when they are created Peers ; that in such a Government as this, where the Prince holds the Balance between two great Powers, the Nobility and People, it is of the very Nature of his Office to remove from one Scale in the other, or sometimes put his own Weight into the lightest, so to bring both to an Equilibrium ; and lastly, that the other Party had been above twenty Years corrupting the Nobility with Republican Principles, which nothing but the Royal Prerogative could hinder from over-spreading us. The Conformity Bill above-mentioned, was prepared by the Earl of *Nottingham* before the Parliament met, and brought in at the same Time with the Clause against Peace, according to the Bargain made between him and his new Friends. This he hoped would not only save his Credit with

the Church-Party, but bring them over to his Politics, since they must needs be convinced, that instead of changing his own Principles, he had prevailed on the greatest Enemies to the Established Religion, to be the first Movers in a Law for the perpetual Settlement of it. Here it was worth observing, with what Resignation the Junto Lords (as they were then called) are submitted to by their Adherents and Followers; for it is well known, that the chief among the Dissenting Teachers in Town were consulted upon this Affair, and such Arguments used, as had Power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater Advantage to their Cause, than the passing this Bill. I did indeed see a Letter at that Time from one of them, to a great Man *, complaining that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended Friends; but they were in general very well satisfied, upon Promises that this Law should soon be repealed, and others more in their Favour enacted as soon as their Friends should be re-established. But nothing seemed more extraordinary than the Event of this refined Management, by which the Earl of *Nottingham* was so far from bringing over Profelytes (wherein his Abilities fell very short even of the Duke of

* It was to the Treasurer himself.

Somerſet's) or preſerving the Reputation of a firm Churchman, that very few People did ſo much as imagine he had any ſuch Deſign, only when he brought in the Bill, they conceived it was ſome wonderful deep Reach of Politics, which they could not comprehend : However, they liked the thing, and without troubling themſelves about the Perſons or Motives from whence it roſe, it had a very ſpeedy Paſſage through both Houſes.

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſome Attempt of this Nature was much more neceſſary to the Leaders of that Party, than is generally thought ; the Deſire of Power and Revenge was common to them all, but ſeveral among them were alſo conſcious that they ſtood in need of Protection, whoſe Safety was therefore concerned in the Deſign of ruining the Miniſtry, as well as their Ambition. The D — of M — lb — — b foreſaw thoſe Examinations which were afterwards made into ſome Parts of his Management, and was apprehenſive of a great deal more ; that the Parliament would, perhaps, enquire into the Particulars of the Negotiation at the *Hague* in 1709 ; for what Ends, and by whoſe Advice, the Propoſitions of Peace from *France* were rejected ; beſides, he dreaded, leſt that myſterious Policy might be laid open to the World, of deſiring the Queen to conſtitute him General
for

for life, which was a very tender Point, and would admit of too much Proof. It is true, indeed, that whilst the Duke's Affair was under the Consideration of the House of Commons, one of his Creatures * (whether by Direction or other wise) assured the Speaker, with a very serious Countenance, that the World was mistaken in censuring his Lord upon this Article, for it was the Queen who pressed the Duke to accept that Commission, and upon his humble Refusal, conceived her first Displeasure against him. How such a Defence would have passed, if it had been offered in Form, is easier to be conceived, than how any Person in his Wits could have the Confidence to affirm it ; which last would, indeed, be hard to believe, if there were any room left for Doubt.

THE E — of G — — *pb-n* wanted Protection, notwithstanding the Act of General Pardon, which had been procured by his Credit, and was principally calculated for his own Security : He knew that his long Neglect of compelling the Accountants to pass their Accounts, might be punished as a Breach of Trust : He had run the Kingdom into immense Debts by taking up Stores for the Navy, upon a vast Discount, without parliamentary Security, for

* *Craggs*, Father to the Secretary.

which he could be able to plead neither Law nor Necessity, and he had given way at least to some Proceedings, not very justifiable, in relation to Remittances of Money, whereby the Public had suffered considerable Losses. The Barrier Treaty sat heavy upon the Lord *Townsend's* Spirits, because if it should be laid before the House of Commons, whoever negotiated that Affair, might be subject to the most severe Animadversion; and the Earl of *Wharton's* Administration in *Ireland* was looked upon as a sufficient Ground to impeach him at least for high Crimes and Misdemeanours.

THE Managers in *Holland* were sufficiently apprized of all this, and *Monf. Buys*, their Minister here, took care to cultivate that good Correspondence between his Masters and their *English* Friends, which becomes two Confederates pursuing the same End. This Man had been formerly employed to *England* from that Republic, and understood a little of our Language. His Proficiency in Learning has been such, as to furnish now and then a *Latin* Quotation, of which he is as liberal as his Stock will admit. His Knowledge in Government reaches no farther than that of his own Country, by which he forms and cultivates Matters of State for the rest of the World. His Reasoning upon Politics are with great Profusion at all Meetings,

ings, and he leaves the Company with entire Satisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of Cunning, which is the Growth of his Country, of a Standard with the Genius of the People, and capable of being transferred into every Condition of Life among them, from the Boor to the Burgomaster. He came into *England* with Instructions, authorizing him to accommodate all Differences between her Majesty and the States, but having first advised with the Confederate Lords, he assured the Ministry he had Powers to hear their Proposals, but none to conclude ; and having represented to his Masters what had been told him by the adverse Party, he prevailed with them to revoke his Powers. He found the Interest of those who withstood the Court, would exactly fall in with the Designs of the States, which were, to carry on the War as long as they could at our own Expence, and to see themselves at the Head of a Treaty of Peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to *France*, or to receive Overtures from thence. The Emperor, upon many powerful Reasons, was utterly averse from all Councils, which aimed at putting an End to the War, without delivering him the whole Dominion of *Spain* : Nay, the Elector of *H—r* himself, although presumptive Heir to the Crown of *E—d*, and obliged, by all
Sorts

Sorts of Ties, to cultivate her Majesty's Friendship, was so far deceived by Misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer *Monf. Bothmar*, his Envoy here, to print and publish a Memorial here in *English*, directly disapproving all her Majesty's Proceedings; which Memorial, as appeareth by the Stile and Manner of it, was all drawn up, or at least digested, by some Party-pen on this Side of the Water. Cautious Writers, in order to avoid Offence or Danger, and to preserve the Respect even due to foreign Princes, do usually charge the wrong Steps in a Court altogether upon the Persons employed; but I should have taken a securer Method, and have been wholly silent in this Point, if I had not then conceived some Hope, that his E ——— I H ———s might possibly have been a Stranger to the Memorial of his Resident: For, first, the Manner of delivering it to the Secretary of State, was out of all Form, and almost as extraordinary as the Thing itself. *Monf. Bothmar* having obtained an Hour of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, talked much to him upon the Subject of which that Memorial consists, and upon going away, desired he might leave a Paper with the Secretary, which he said contained the Substance of what he had been discoursing. This Paper Mr. *St. John* laid aside among others of little Consequence, and a few Days after saw

a Memorial in print, which he found, upon comparing, to be the same with what *Bothmar* had left.

DURING this short Recess of Parliament, and upon the fifth Day of *January*, Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* landed in *England*. Before he left his Ship, he asked a Person who came to meet him, whether the *Nero* Lords were made, and what was their Number? He was attended through the Streets with a mighty Rabble of People to *St. James's*, where Mr. Secretary *St. John* introduced him to the Queen, who received him with great Civility. His Arrival had been long expected, and the Prospect of his Journey had as long been formed by the Party-Leaders here, in Concert with *Monf. Buys* and *Monf. Bothmar*, the *Dutch* and *H——r* Envoys. This Prince brought over Credentials from the Emperor, with Offers to continue the War upon a new Foot, very advantageous to *Britain*, Part of which, by her Majesty's Commands, Mr. *St. John* soon after produced to the House of Commons, where they were rejected, not without some Indignation, by a great Majority. The Emperor's Proposals, as far as related to *Spain*, were communicated to the House in the Words following :

“ His Imperial Majesty judges that forty
 “ thousand Men will be sufficient for this
 “ Service, and that the whole Expence of
 “ the

“ the War in *Spain* may amount to Four
 “ Millions of Crowns, towards which his
 “ Imperial Majesty offers to make up the
 “ Troops, which he has in that Country,
 “ to thirty thousand Men, and to take One
 “ Million of Crowns upon himself.”

ON the other Side, the House of Commons voted a third Part of these Four Millions as a sufficient Quota for her Majesty toward that Service : for it was supposed, the Emperor ought to bear the greatest Proportion in a Point that so nearly concerned him ; or, at least, that *Britain* contributing one Third, the other two might be paid by his Imperial Majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

THE Design of Prince *Eugene's* Journey was to raise a Spirit in the Parliament, and People for continuing the War : For nothing was thought impossible to a Prince of such high Reputation in Arms, in great Favour with the Emperor, and empowered to make such Proposals from his Master, as the Ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted Letter from Count *Gallas* (formerly the Emperor's Envoy here) that the Prince was wholly left to his Liberty of making what Offers he pleased in the Emperor's Name ; for if the Parliament could once be brought to raise Funds, and the War go on, the Ministers here must be under a Necessity of applying and expending those Funds, and the Emperor could afterwards

wards find twenty Reasons and Excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his Quota. Therefore Prince *Eugene* for some Time kept himself within generals, until being pressed to explain himself upon that Particular of the War in *Spain*, which the House of *Austria* pretended to have most at heart, he made that Offer above-mentioned as a most extraordinary Effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before towards the recovering that Monarchy to themselves. But shameful as these Proposals were, few believed the Emperor would observe them, or indeed that he ever intended to spare so many Men as would make up an Army of thirty thousand Men, to be employed in *Spain*.

PRINCE *Eugene's* Visit to his Friends in *England* continued longer than was expected; he was every Day entertained magnificently by Persons of Quality of both Parties; he went frequently to the Treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private; he visited the other Ministers and great Officers of the Court, but on all Occasions publickly owned the Character and Appellation of a Whig, and in Secret had continual Meetings with the Duke of *Marlborough* and the other discontented Lords, where M. *Bothmar* usually assisted. It is the great Ambition of this Prince to be perpetually engaged in War, without considering

sidering the Cause or Consequence, and to see himself at the Head of an Army, where only he can make any considerable Figure. He is not without a natural Tincture of that Cruelty, sometimes charged upon the *Italians*, and being nursed in Arms, hath so far extinguished Pity and Remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand Mens Lives to a Caprice of Glory or Revenge. He had conceived an incurable Hatred for the Treasurer, as the Person who principally opposed this insatiable Passion for War ; said, he had Hopes of others, but that the Treasurer was *Unmechant Diable*, not to be moved ; therefore, since it was impossible for him or his Friends to compass their Designs, while that Minister continued at the Head of Affairs, he proposed an Expedient, often practised by those of his Country, that the Treasurer (to use his own Expression) should be taken off *a la Negligence* ; that this might easily be done, and pass for an Effect of Chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper People to commit small Riots in the Night : And in several Parts of the Town a Crew of obscure Ruffians were accordingly employed about that Time, who probably exceeded their Commission, and mixing themselves with these disorderly People, that often infest the Streets at Midnight, acted inhuman Outrages on many Persons, whom they cut and mangled in

in the Faces and Arms, and other Parts of the Body, without any Provocation : But an effectual Stop was soon put to those Enormities, which probably prevented the Execution of the main Design.

I AM very sensible, that such an Imputation ought not to be charged upon any Person whatsoever, upon slight Grounds or doubtful Surmises, and that those who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this Passage to be fitter for a Libel than a History ; but as the Account was given by more than one Person, who was at the Meeting, so it was confirmed, past all Contradiction, by several intercepted Letters and Papers : And it is most certain, that the Rage of the defeated Party, upon their frequent Disappointments, was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some Counsels yet more violent and desperate than this, which, however, by the Vigilance of those near the Person of her Majesty, were happily prevented.

ON the thirtieth of *December*, 1711, the Duke of *Marlborough* was removed from all his Employments, the Duke of *Ormond* succeeding him as General both here and in *Flanders*. This Proceeding of the Court (as far as it related to the Duke of *Marlborough*) was much censured, both at home and abroad, and by some who did not wish ill to the present Situation of Affairs : There were few Examples of a Commander being

ing disgraced, after an uninterrupted Course of Success for many Years against a formidable Enemy, and this before a Period was put to the War. Those, who had least Esteem for his Valour and Conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a General, whose Troops were perpetually victorious, while he was at their Head ; because this had infused into his Soldiers an Opinion, that they should always conquer, and into the Enemy, that they should always be beaten, than which nothing is held to be of greater Moment, either in the Progress of a War, or upon the Day of Battle ; and I have good Grounds to affirm, that these Reasons had sufficient Weight with the Queen and Ministry to have kept the Duke of *Marlborough* in his Post, if a Way could have been found out to have done it with any Assurance of Safety to the Nation. It is the Misfortune of Princes, that the Effects of their Displeasure make usually much more Noise than the Causes ; thus the Sound of the Duke's Fall was heard farther than many of the Reasons which made it necessary, whereof, though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the dark.

UPON the Duke's last Return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his Arrival to Town (whether by Accident or otherwise) upon the seventeenth of *November*, called *Queen Elizabeth's Day*, when great Numbers of his Creatures and Admirers had thought fit

to revive an old Ceremony among the Rabble, of burning the Pope in Effigy ; for the Performance of which, with more Solemnity, they had made extraordinary Preparations. From the several Circumstances of the Expence in this intended Pageantry, and of the Persons who promoted it, the Court, apprehensive of a Design to inflame the common People, thought fit to order that the several Figures should be seized as Popish Trinkets, and Guards were ordered to patrol for preventing any tumultuous Assemblies. Whether this Frolick was only intended for an Affront to the Court, or whether it had a deeper Meaning, I must leave undetermined. The Duke, in his own Nature, is not much turned to be popular, and in his flourishing Times, when he came to *England* upon the Close of a Campaign, he rather affected to avoid any Concourse of the Mobile, if they had been disposed to attend him ; therefore so very different a Proceeding at this Juncture, made it suspected as if he had a Design to have placed himself at their Head. *France*, Popery, the Pretender, and no Peace without *Spain*, were the Words to be given about at this mock Parade ; and, if what was confidently asserted be true, that a Report was to have been spread at the same Time of the Queen's Death,

no

no Man can tell what might have been the Event.

BUT this Attempt, to whatever Purposes intended, proving wholly abortive, by the Vigilance of thole in Power, the Duke's Arrival was without any Noise or Consequence, and, upon consulting with his Friends, he soon fell in with their new Scheme for preventing the Peace. It was believed by many Persons, that the Ministers might, with little Difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a Trial; for as he would probably have accepted any Terms to continue in a Station of such prodigious Profit, so there was sufficient Room to work upon his Fears, of which he is seldom unprovided (I mean only in his political Capacity) and this Infirmary very much increased by his unmeasurable Possessions, which have rendered him *ipsique onerique timentem*. But Reason, as well as the Event, proved this to be a Mistake, for the Ministers being determined to bring the War to as speedy an Issue as the Honour and Safety of their Country would permit, could not possibly recompence the Duke for the mighty Incomes he held by the Continuance of it: Then the other Party had calculated their Numbers, and by the Accession of the Earl of *Nottingham*, whose Example they hoped would have many Followers, and the successful Sollicitations of the Duke of *Somerset*,
found

found they were sure of a Majority in the House of Lords ; so that in this View of Circumstances, the D—— of M—— b thought he acted with Security as well as Advantage. He therefore boldly fell, with his whole Weight, into the Design of ruining the Ministry, at the Expence of his Duty to his Sovereign, and the Welfare of his Country, after the mighty Obligations he had received from both. Whig and Tory were now no longer the Dispute, but the Queen or the D—— of M—— b : He was at the Head of all the Cabals and Consults with B——r, Buys, and the discontented Lords : He forgot that Government of his Passion, for which his Admirers used to celebrate him, and fell into all the Impotencies of Anger and Violence upon every Party Debate ; so that the Queen found herself under a Necessity either on the one Side, to sacrifice those Friends who had ventured their Lives in rescuing her out of the Power of some, whose former Treatment she had little Reason to be fond of, to put an End to the Progress she had made towards a Peace, and dissolve her Parliament ; or on the other Side, by removing one Person from so great a Trust, to get clear of all her Difficulties at once. Her Majesty therefore determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer Course, and during the Recess at *Christmas*, sent the

Duke

Duke a Letter, to tell him she had no farther Occasion for his Service.

THERE hath not, perhaps, in the present Age, been a clearer Instance to shew the Instability of all Greatness, which is not founded upon Virtue, and it may be an Instruction to Princes, who are well in the Hearts of their People, that the overgrown Power of any particular Person, although supported by exorbitant Wealth, can, by a little Resolution, be reduced in a Moment, without any dangerous Consequences. This Lord, who was beyond Comparison, the greatest Subject in Christendom, found his Power, Credit, and Influence, crumble away on a sudden, and except a few Friends or Followers by Inclination, the rest dropped off in Course ; from directing, in some Manner, the Affairs of *Europe*, he descended to be a Member of a Faction, and with little Distinction even there ; that Virtue of subduing his Resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no Occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him when he stood most in need of its Assistance, and, upon Trial, was found unable to bear a Reverse of Fortune, giving way to Rage, Impatience, Envy, and Discontent.

BOOK II.

THE House of Lords met upon the second Day of *January*, according to their Adjournment ; but before they could proceed to Business, the twelve new created Peers were, in the usual Form, admitted to their Seats in that Assembly, who, by their Number, turned the Ballance on the Side of the Court, and voted an Adjournment to the same Day with the Commons. Upon the Fourteenth of *January*, the two Houses met ; but the Queen, who intended to be there in Person, sent a Message to inform them, “ that she was prevented by a sudden Return of the Gout, and “ to desire they would adjourn for three “ Days longer, when her Majesty hoped she “ should be able to speak to them.” However, her Indisposition still continuing, Mr. *Secretary St. John* brought another Message to the House of Commons from the Queen, containing the Substance of what she intended to have spoken. “ That she could “ now tell them, her Plenipotentiaries were “ arrived at *Utrecht*, and had begun, in “ Pursuance of her Instructions, to concert “ the most proper Ways of procuring a just “ Satisfaction

“ Satisfaction to all Powers in Alliance with
 “ her, according to their several Treaties,
 “ and particularly with Relation to *Spain*
 “ and the *West Indies*; that she promised to
 “ communicate to them the Conditions of
 “ Peace before the same should be con-
 “ cluded. That the World would now see
 “ how Groundless these Reports were, and
 “ without the least Colour, That a separate
 “ Peace had been treated; that her Mi-
 “ nisters were directed to propose, that a
 “ Day might be fixed for the finishing, as
 “ was done for the Commencement of this
 “ Treaty; and that in the mean time all
 “ Preparations were hastening for an early
 Campaign, &c.”

HER Majesty's Endeavours towards this
 great Work, having been in such a For-
 wardness, at the time that her Message was
 sent, I shall here, as in the most proper
 Place, relate the several Steps, by which
 the Intercourse between the Courts of *France*
 and *Britain* was begun and carried on.

THE Marquis *De Torcy*, sent by the Most
 Christian King to the *Hague*, had there, in
 the Year 1709, made very advantageous
 Offers to the Allies, in his Master's Name;
 which our Ministers, as well as those of the
 States, thought fit to refuse, and advanced
 other Proposals in their stead; but of such
 a Nature as no Prince could digest, who
 did not lie at the immediate Mercy of his
 Enemies. It was demanded among other
 Things,

Things, that the *French* King should employ his own Troops, in Conjunction with those of the Allies, to drive his Grandson out of *Spain*. The Proposers knew very well, that the Enemy would never consent to this, and if it were possible they could at first have any such Hopes, Monsieur *De Torcy* assured them to the Contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for when the *British* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries were drawing up their Demands, they desired that Minister to assist them in the Stile and Expression, which he very readily did, and made Use of the strongest Words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last Resolution, whether these were the lowest Terms the Allies could accept; and having received a determinate Answer in the Affirmative, he spoke to this Effect.

“THAT he thanked them heartily, for
 “ giving him the happiest Day he had ever
 “ seen in his Life. That in perfect Obe-
 “ dience to his Master he had made Con-
 “ cessions, in his own Opinion, highly de-
 “ rogatory to the King’s Honour and In-
 “ terest. That he had not concealed the
 “ Difficulties of his Court, or the Discontents
 “ of his Country, by a long and unsuccess-
 “ ful War, which could only justify the
 “ large Offers he had been impowered to
 “ make. That the Conditions of Peace
 “ now delivered into his Hands, by the
 D “ Allies,

“ Allies, would raise a new Spirit in the
 “ Nation, and remove the greatest Diffi-
 “ culty the Court lay under, by putting it
 “ in his Master’s Power to convince all his
 “ Subjects, how earnestly his Majesty de-
 “ sired to ease them from the Burthen of
 “ the War ; but that his Enemies would
 “ not accept of any Terms which could
 “ consist either with their Safety or his Ho-
 “ nour.” Monsieur *De Torcy* assured the
 Pensioner, in the strongest Manner, and bid
 him count upon it, “ that the King his
 “ Master would never sign those Ar-
 “ ticles.”

IT soon appeared, that the Marquis *De*
Torcy’s Predictions were true ; for upon de-
 livering to his Master the last Resolutions of
 the Allies, that Prince took care to publish
 them all over his Kingdom, as an Appeal to
 his Subjects against the Unreasonableness
 and Unjustness of his Enemies ; which Pro-
 ceeding effectually answered the utmost he
 intended by it. For the *French* Nation, ex-
 tremely zealous for their Monarch’s Glory,
 made universal Offers of their Lives and
 Fortunes, rather than submit to such igno-
 minious Terms ; and the Clergy, in par-
 ticular, promised to give the King their
 consecrated Plate towards continuing the
 War. Thus that mighty Kingdom, gene-
 rally thought to be exhausted wholly of its
 Wealth, yet when driven to a Necessity,
 by the Imprudence of the Allies, or by the
 2 Corruption

Corruption of particular Men who influenced their Counsels, recovered Strength enough to support itself for three following Campaigns ; and in the last, by the fatal Blindness or Obstinacy of the *Dutch* (venturing to act without the Assistance of *Britain* which they had shamefully abandoned) was an Overmatch for the whole Confederate Army. Those, who in order to defend the Proceedings of the Allies, have given an Account of this Negotiation, do wholly omit the Circumstance I have now related, and express the Zeal of the *British* and *Dutch* Ministers for a Peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after Monsieur *De Torcy*, and Monsieur *Rouille*, for a farther Conference. But in the mean time, Mr. *Horatio Walpole*, Secretary to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither, to have these abortive Articles signed and ratified by her Majesty at a Venture ; which was accordingly done. A Piece of Management altogether absurd, and without Example, contrived only to deceive our People into a Belief that a Peace was intended, and to shew what great Things the Ministry designed to do.

BUT this Hope expiring, upon the News that *France* had refused to sign those Articles, all was solved by Recourse to the old Topick of the *French* Perfidiousness ; we loaded them plentifully with ignominious Appellations ; they were a Nation never to be trusted ; the Parliament chearfully con-

tinued their Supplies, and the War went on.

THE Winter following began the second and last Session of the preceding Parliament, noted for the Trial of Dr. *Sackevertal* and the Occasions thereby given to the People to discover and exert their Dispositions, very opposite to the Designs of those who were then in Power. In the Summer of 1710, ensued a gradual Change of the Ministry; and in the Beginning of that Winter the present Parliament was called.

THE King of *France*, whose real Interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable Peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal Conditions with either of the two Maritime Powers engaged against him, because of the Prevalency of Factions in both, who acted in Concert to their mutual private Advantage, although directly against the general Dispositions of the People, in either, as well as against their several Maxims of Government; but, upon the great Turn of Affairs and Counsels here in *England*, the New Parliament and Ministers acting from other Motives and upon other Principles, that Prince hoped an Opportunity might arise of resuming his Endeavours towards a Peace.

THERE was at this time in *England*, a *French* Ecclesiastick called the Abbé *Gualtier*, who had resided several Years in *London* under the Protection of some foreign Ministers,
in

in whose Families he used upon occasion to exercise his Function of a Priest. After the Battle of *Elenheim*, this Gentleman went down to *Nottingham*, where several *French* Prisoners of Quality were kept, to whom he rendered those Offices of Civility suitable to Persons in their Condition, which, upon their Return to *France* they reported to his Advantage; among the rest, the Chevalier *de Croissy* told his Brother, the Marquiss *De Torcy*, that when ever the *French* Court would have a mind to make Overtures of Peace with *England*, Monsieur *Gualtier* might be very usefully employed in handing them to the Ministers here. This was no farther thought on at present; in the mean time the War went on, and the Conferences at the *Hague* and *Gertruidenberg*, miscarried by the Allies insisting upon such Demands as they neither expected, nor, perhaps, desired should be granted. Some time in *July* 1710, Monsieur *Gualtier* received a Letter from the Marquiss *De Torcy*, signifying, that a Report being spread of her Majesty's Intentions to change her Ministry, to take Mr. *Harley* into her Counsels, and to dissolve her Parliament; the Most Christian King thought it might be now a favourable Conjunction to offer new Proposals of a Treaty; Monsieur *Gualtier* was therefore directed to apply himself, in the Marquiss's Name, either to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Jersey*, or Mr. *Harley*, and inform the *French* Court

how such a Proposition would be relished. *Gualtier* chose to deliver his Message to the second of those, who had been Ambassador from the late King to *France*; but the Earl excused himself from entering into Particulars with a Stranger, and a private Person, who had no Authority for what he said, more than a Letter from Monsieur *De Torcy*. *Gualtier* offered to procure another from that Minister to the Earl himself, and did so in a Month after, but obtained no Answer till *December* following, when the Queen had made all necessary Changes, and summoned a free Parliament to her Wishes. About the Beginning of *January*, the Abbé (after having procured his Dismission from Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Envoy, at that time his Protector) was sent to *Paris* to inform Monsieur *De Torcy*, that her Majesty would be willing his Master should resume the Treaty with *Holland*, provided the Demands of *England* might previously be granted. *Gualtier* came back, after a short stay, with a Return to his Message, " that
 " the *Dutch* had used the Most Christian
 " King and his Ministers, in such a Manner,
 " both at the *Hague* and *Gertruidenberg*, as
 " made that Prince resolve not to expose
 " himself any more to the like Treatment;
 " that he therefore chose to address himself
 " to *England*, and was ready to make what-
 " ever Offers her Majesty could reasonably
 " expect for the Advantage of her own
 " Kingdoms,

“ Kingdoms, and the Satisfaction of her
 “ Allies.

AFTER the Message had been duly considered by the Queen and her Ministers, Monsieur *Gualtier* was dispatched a second Time to *France*, about the Beginning of *March 1710*, with an Answer to the following Purpose: “ That since *France* had
 “ their particular Reasons for not beginning
 “ again to treat with *Holland*, *England* was
 “ willing to remove that Difficulty, and
 “ proposed it should be done in this Man-
 “ ner; That *France* should send over hi-
 “ ther the Propositions for a Treaty, which
 “ should be transmitted by *England* to *Hol-*
 “ *land*, to be jointly treated on that Side
 “ of the Water. But it was to be under-
 “ stood, that the same Proposition formerly
 “ offered to *Holland*, was to be made to
 “ *England*, or one not less Advantageous
 “ to the Allies; for though *England* would
 “ enter most sincerely into such a Treaty,
 “ and shew in the Course of it the Clear-
 “ ness of her Intentions; yet they could
 “ not, with Honour, entertain a less be-
 “ neficial Proposal than what was offered to
 “ the States.” That Prince as well as his
 Minister, Monsieur *de Torcy*, either felt or
 affected so much Resentment of the Usage
 the Latter had met at the *Hague* and *Ger-*
truidenberg, that they appeared to be fully
 determined against making any Application
 to the States, where the same Persons con-

tinued still in Power, of whose Treatment they so heavily complained ; they seemed altogether to distrust the Inclination of that Republic towards a Peace, but at the same time shewed a mighty Complaisance to the *English* Nation, and a Desire to have her Majesty at the Head of a Treaty. This appears by the first Overtures in Form, sent from that Kingdom, and signed by Monsieur *De Torcy* on the Twenty-second of *April* 1711, New Stile, to the following Effect.

“ THAT as it could not be doubted
 “ but the King was in a Condition of con-
 “ tinuing the War with Honour, so it could
 “ not be looked on as a Mark of Weakness
 “ in his Majesty to break the Silence he
 “ had kept since the Conferences at *Ger-*
 “ *truidenberg*, and that before the Opening
 “ of the Campaign ; he now gives farther
 “ Proof of the Desire he always had to
 “ procure the Repose of *Europe* ; but after
 “ what he hath found, by Experience, of the
 “ Sentiments of those Persons who now go-
 “ verned the Republic of *Holland*, and of
 “ their Industry in rendering all Negocia-
 “ tions without Effect, his Majesty will, for
 “ the Public Good, offer to the *English* Na-
 “ tion those Propositions, which he thinks
 “ fit to make, for terminating the War, and
 “ for settling the Tranquillity of *Europe* upon
 “ a solid Foundation. It is with this View,
 “ that he offers to enter into a Treaty of
 “ Peace

“ Peace, founded on the following Conditions.

“ *First*, T H E *English* Nation shall have real Securities for carrying on their Trade in *Spain*, the *Indies*, and Ports of the *Mediterranean*.

“ *Secondly*, T H E King will consent to form a sufficient Barrier in the Low-Countries for the Security of the Republic of *Holland*; and this Barrier shall be such as *England* shall agree upon and approve; his Majesty promising, at the same time, an entire Liberty and Security to the Trade of the *Dutch*.

“ *Thirdly*, A L L reasonable Methods shall be thought on, with Sincerity and Truth, for giving Satisfaction to the Allies of *England* and *Holland*.

“ *Fourthly*, W H E R E A S the Affairs of the King of *Spain* are in so good Condition, as to furnish new Expedients for putting an End to the Disputes about that Monarchy, and for settling it to the Satisfaction of the several Parties concerned, all sincere Endeavours shall be used, for surmounting the Difficulties arisen upon this Occasion, and the Trade and Interest of all Parties engaged in the present War, shall be secured.

“ *Fifthly*, T H E Conferences, in order to treat of a Peace upon these Conditions, shall immediately be opened, and the Plenipotentiaries whom the King shall

“ name to assist thereat, shall treat with
 “ those of *England* and *Holland*, either alone
 “ or in Conjunction with those of their Al-
 “ lies, as *England* shall choose.

“ *Sixtly*, His Majesty proposes the
 “ Towns of *Aix la Chapelle* or *Liege*, for the
 “ Place where the Plenipotentiaries shall
 “ assemble, leaving the Choice likewise to
 “ *England*, of either of the said Towns
 “ wherein to treat a General Peace.”

THESE Overtures, although expressing much Confidence in the Ministry here, the great Deference to the Queen, and Displeasure against the *Dutch*, were immediately transmitted by her Majesty's Commands, to her Ambassador in *Holland*, with Orders, that they should be communicated to the Pensionary. The Abbe *Gualtier* was desired to signify this Proceeding to the Marquis *De Torcy*, and at the same time to let that Minister understand, that some of the above Articles ought to be explained. The Lord *Raby*, now Earl of *Strafford*, was directed to tell the Pensionary, “ that her Majesty
 “ being resolved, in making Peace as in
 “ making War, to act in perfect Concert
 “ with the States, would not lose a Mo-
 “ ment in transmitting to him a Paper of
 “ this Importance. That the Queen earn-
 “ estly desired the Secret might be kept,
 “ among as few as possible; and that she
 “ hoped the Pensionary would advise, upon
 “ this Occasion, with no Person whatsoever,
 “ except

“ except such as by the Constitution of that
 “ Government are unavoidably necessary ;
 “ that the Terms of the several Proposi-
 “ tions were, indeed, too general, but
 “ however they contained an Offer to
 “ treat ; and that although there appeared
 “ an Air of Complaisance to *England*,
 “ through the whole Paper, and the con-
 “ trary to *Holland*, yet this could have no
 “ ill Consequence, as long as the Queen
 “ and the States took care to understand
 “ each other, and to act with as little Re-
 “ serve as became two Powers so nearly
 “ allied in Interest, which Rule should, on
 “ the Part of *Britain*, be inviolable.” It
 was likewise signified to the Pensionary,
 that the Duke of *Marlborough* had no Com-
 munication of this Affair from *England*, and
 that it was supposed he would have none
 from the *Hague*. After these Proposals had
 been considered in *Holland*, the Ambassador
 was directed to send back the Opinion of
 the *Dutch* Ministers upon them. The Court
 here was, indeed, apprehensive, that the
 Pensionary would be alarmed at the whole
 Frame of Monsieur *De Torcy*’s Paper, and
 particularly at those Expressions, that the
English shall have real Securities for their
 Trade, &c. and that the Barrier for the
 States-General shall be such as *England* shall
 agree upon and approve. It was natural to
 think, that the Fear which the *Dutch* would
 conceive of our obtaining advantageous
 Terms

Terms for *Britain*, might put them upon trying underhand for themselves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the Management of the Peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the War; the Ambassador was therefore cautioned, to be very watchful in discovering any Workings which might tend that Way.

WHEN the Lord *Raby* was first sent to the *Hague*, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townsend* had, for very obvious Reasons, used their utmost Endeavours to involve him in as many Difficulties as they could; upon which, and other Accounts needless to mention, it was thought proper that his Grace, then in *Flanders*, should not be let into the Secret of this Affair.

THE *French* Proposal of *Aix* or *Liege*, for a Place of Treaty, was only a farther Mark of their old Discontent against *Holland*, to shew they would not name any Town which belonged to the States.

THE Pensionary having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the Negotiations of Peace, and enjoined them the utmost Secrecy, to avoid the Jealousy of the Foreign Ministers there, desired the Ambassador to return her Majesty Thanks for the obliging Manner of communicating the *French* Overtures, for the Confidence she placed in the States, and for her Promise of making no step towards a Peace, but in concert with them; assuring her of the like on
their

their Part; that although the States endeavoured to hide it from the Enemy, they were as weary of the War as we, and very heartily desirous of a good and lasting Peace, as well as ready to join in any Method, by which her Majesty should think proper to obtain it; that the States looked upon these Propositions as very dark and general; and they observed how the Enemy would create Jealousies between the Queen, their Republic, and the other Allies; but they were satisfied it would have no Effect, and relied entirely on the Justice and Prudence of her Majesty, who, they doubted not, would make the *French* explain themselves, particularly in the several Points of their Proposals, and send a Plan of the particular Conditions whereupon they would make a Peace; after which the States would be ready either to join with her Majesty, or to make their Objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the Facility imaginable towards promoting so good a Work.

THIS is the Sum of the Verbal Answer, made by the Pensionary, upon communicating to him the *French* Proposals; and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the Ambassador some Days after, which was more in Form and to the same Purpose, but shorter, and, in my Opinion, not so well discover-

vering the true Disposition of the *Dutch* Ministers.

FOR after the Queen had transmitted the *French* Overtures to *Holland*, and the States found her Majesty was bent, in earnest, upon the Thoughts of a Peace, they began to cast about how to get the Negotiation into their own Hands ; they knew that whatever Power received the first Proposals would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves, as they had done in their own Case, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruidenberg*, where they carved as they pleased, without any Regard to the Interest of their nearer Allies. For this Reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the *British* Court with Expostulations upon the several Preliminaries sent from *France*, Monsieur *Petecum*, a forward meddling Agent of *Holstein*, who had resided some Years in *Holland*, negotiated with *Hienfius* the Grand Pensionary, as well as with *Vanderdussen* and *Buys*, about restoring the Conferences between *France* and that Republic, broke off in *Gertruidenberg* ; pursuant to which, about the End of *May* N. S. 1711, *Petecum* wrote to the Marquis *de Torcy*, with the Privity of the Pensionary, and probably of the other two, the Substance of his Letter was to inform the Marquis, “ that Things might easily
“ be disposed, so as to settle a Correspondence
“ between that Crown and the Republic,
“ in order to renew the Treaty of Peace ;
“ that

" that this could be done with the greater
 " Secrecy, because Monsieur *Hienfius*, by
 " Virtue of his Oath as Pensionary, might
 " keep any Affair private as long as he
 " thought necessary, and was not obliged
 " to communicate it, until he believed
 " Things were ripe; and as long as he
 " concealed it from his Masters, he was
 " not bound to discover it, either to the
 " Ministers of the Emperor, or those of her
 " *British* Majesty; that since *England* thought
 " it proper for King *Charles* to continue the
 " whole Campaign in *Catalonia* (though
 " he should be chosen Emperor) in order
 " to support the War in *Spain*, it was ne-
 " cessary for *France* to treat in the most
 " secret Manner with the States, who were
 " not now so violent, as formerly, against
 " having *Philip* on the *Spanish* Throne,
 " upon certain Conditions for securing their
 " Trade, but were jealous of *England's*
 " Design to fortify some trading Towns in
 " *Spain* for themselves; that *Hienfius* ex-
 " tremely desired to get out of the War, for
 " some Reasons, which he (*Petecum*) was
 " not permitted to tell, and that *Vander-*
 " *dussen* and *Buys* were impatient to have
 " the Negotiations with *France* once more
 " set on Foot, which, if Mons. *de Torcy*
 " thought fit to consent to, *Petecum* en-
 " gaged that the States would determine
 " to settle the Preliminaries in the Mid-
 " way between *Paris* and the *Hague*, with
 " whatever

“ whatever Ministers the most Christian King should please to employ.” But *Monf. Torcy* refused this Overture, and in his Answer to *Monf. Petecum*, assigned for the Reason, the Treatment his Master’s former Proposals had met with at the *Hague* and *Gertruidenberg*, from the Ministers of *Holland*.

BRITAIN and *Holland* seemed pretty well agreed, that those Proposals were too loose and imperfect to be a Foundation for entering upon a general Treaty, and *Monf. Gualtier* was desired to signify to the *French* Court, that it was expected they should explain themselves more particularly on the several Articles.

BUT in the mean time the *Queen* was firmly resolved, that the Interests of her own Kingdom should not be neglected at this Juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the *Dutch* were principal Managers of a Negotiation with *France*. Her Majesty had given early and frequent Notice to the States, of the general Disposition of her People towards a Peace, of her own Inability to continue the War upon the old Foot, under the Disadvantage of unequal Quota’s, and the universal Backwardness of her Allies. She had likewise informed them of several Advances made to her on the Side of *France*, which she had refused to hearken to, till she had consulted with those her good Friends and Confederates,

derates, and heard their Opinion on that Subject ; but the *Dutch*, who apprehended nothing more than to see *Britain* at the Head of a Treaty, were backward and sullen, disliked all Proposals by the Queen's Intervention, and said it was a Piece of Artifice of *France*, to divide the Allies : Besides, they knew the Ministry was young, and the opposite Faction had given them Assurances, that the People of *England* would never endure a Peace without *Spain*, nor the Men in Power dare to attempt it, after the Resolutions of one House of Parliament to the contrary. But in the midst of this Unwillingness to receive any Overtures from *France* by the Queen's Hands, the *Dutch* Ministers were actually engaged in a Correspondence with that Court, where they urged our Inability to begin a Treaty, by reason of those Factions, which themselves had inflamed, and were ready to commence a Negociation upon much easier Terms than what they supposed we demanded : For, not to mention the Duke of *Lorrain's* Interposition in Behalf of *Holland*, which *France* absolutely refused to accept, the Letters sent from the *Dutch* to that Court, were shewn some Months after to a *British* Minister there, which gave much Weight to *Monf. Torcy's* Insinuations, that he knew where to meet with more Compliance, if the Necessity of Affairs should force him to it by our Refusal ; and the

the Violence of the States against our entertaining of that Correspondence, was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours were thrown off.

THE Queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own Kingdoms; and having therefore prepared such Demands for her principal Allies, as might be a Ground for proceeding to a general Treaty, without pretending to adjust their several Interests, she resolved to stipulate, in a particular manner, the Advantage of *Britain*: The following Preliminary Demands were accordingly drawn up in order to be transmitted to *France*.

“ *GREAT BRITAIN* will not enter into any Negotiation of Peace, otherwise than upon these Conditions obtained before-hand.

“ THAT the Union of the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* shall be prevented; that Satisfaction shall be given to all the Allies, and Trade settled and maintained.

“ IF *France* be disposed to treat upon this View, it is not to be doubted, that the following Propositions will be found reasonable.

“ A BARRIER shall be formed in the Low-Countries for the States-General, and their Trade shall be secured.

“ A

“ A BARRIER likewise shall be formed
“ for the Empire.

“ THE Pretensions of all the Allies,
“ founded upon former Treaties, shall be
“ regulated and determined to their ge-
“ neral Satisfaction.

“ IN order to make a more equal Bal-
“ lance of Power in *Italy*, the Domains and
“ Territories, which in the Beginning of
“ the present War belonged to the Duke of
“ *Savoy*, and are now in the Possession of
“ *France*, shall be restored to his Royal
“ Highness, and such other Places in *Italy*
“ shall be yielded to him, as will be found
“ necessary and agreeable to the Sense of
“ former Treaties made with that Prince.

“ AS to *Great Britain* in particular, the
“ Succession to the Crown of the Kingdoms,
“ according to the present Establishment,
“ shall be acknowledged.

“ A NEW Treaty of Commerce between
“ *Great Britain* and *France* shall be made
“ after the most just and reasonable Man-
“ ner. *Dunkirk* shall be demolished, *Gib-*
“ *raltar* and *Portmahon* shall remain in the
“ Hands of the present Possessors.

“ THE *English* shall have the *Affiento* in
“ the same manner the *French* now enjoy
“ it; and such Places in the *Spanish West-*
“ *Indies* shall be assigned to those con-
“ cerned in this Traffic, for the Refresh-
“ ment and Sale of their Negroes, as shall
“ be found necessary and convenient.

“ ALL

“ ALL Advantages, Rights, and Privileges, already granted, or which may hereafter be granted by *Spain* to the Subjects of *France*, or to any other Nation whatsoever, shall be equally granted to the Subjects of *Great Britain*.

“ AND for better securing the *British* Trade in the *Spanish West-Indies*, certain Places, to be named in the Treaty of Peace, shall be put into the Possession of the *English*.

“ *Newfoundland*, with the Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, shall be entirely restored to the *English* ; and *Great Britain* and *France* shall severally keep and possess all those Countries and Territories in *North America*, which each of these said Nations shall be in Possession of at the Time when the Ratification of this Treaty shall be published in those Parts of the World.

“ These Demands, and all other Proceedings between *Great Britain* and *France*, shall be kept inviolably secret, until they are published by the mutual Consent of both Parties.”

THIS last Article was not only intended for avoiding, if possible, the Jealousy of the *Dutch*, but to prevent the Clamour of the Abettors here at home, who under the pretended Fear of our doing Injustice to the States, by acting without the

the Privy of that Republic, in order to make a seperate Peace, would be ready to drive on the worst Designs against the Queen and Ministry, in order to recover the Power they had lost.

IN *June 1711*, Mr. *Prior*, a Person of great Distinction, not only on account of his Wit, but for his Abilities in the Management of Affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the *French Court*, was dispatched thither by her Majesty with the foregoing Demands. This Gentleman was received at *Versailles* with great Civility. The King declared, that no Proceeding in order to a general Treaty, would be so agreeable to him, as by the Intervention of *England*, and that his Majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his Power towards the Repose of *Europe*, did answer to the Demands which had been made :
 “ That he would consent freely and sincerely to all just and reasonable Methods
 “ for hindering the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* from ever being united under the
 “ same Prince ; his Majesty being persuaded that such an Excess of Power
 “ would be as contrary to the general Good
 “ and Repose of *Europe*, as it was opposite
 “ to the Will of the late Catholick King
 “ *Charles the Second* : He said his Intention was, that all Parties in the present
 “ War should find their reasonable Satisfaction in the intended Treaty of Peace,
 “ and

“ and that Trade should be settled and
 “ maintained for the future, to the Ad-
 “ vantage of those Nations which formerly
 “ possessed it.

“ THAT as the King will exactly ob-
 “ serve the Conditions of Peace, whenever
 “ it shall be concluded, and as the Object
 “ he proposeth to himself is to secure the
 “ Frontiers of his own Kingdom, without
 “ giving any sort of Disturbance to his
 “ Neighbours, he promiseth to agree, that
 “ by the future Treaty of Peace, the *Dutch*
 “ shall be put into Possession of all for-
 “ tified Places as shall be specified in the
 “ said Treaty, to serve for a Barrier to that
 “ Republic against all Attempts on the
 “ Side of *France* ; he engages likewise to
 “ give all necessary Securities for removing
 “ the Jealousies raised among the *German*
 “ Princes, of his Majesty's Designs.

“ THAT when the Conferences, in
 “ order to a general Treaty, shall be
 “ formed, all the Pretensions of the several
 “ Princes and States, engaged in the pre-
 “ sent War, shall be fairly and amicably
 “ discussed ; nor shall any thing be omit-
 “ ted, which may regulate and determine
 “ them to the Satisfaction of all Parties.

“ THAT, pursuant to the Demands
 “ made by *England*, his Majesty promises
 “ to restore to the Duke of *Savoy*, those
 “ Demesnes and Territories which be-
 “ longed to that Prince at the Beginning
 “ of

“ of this War, and which his Majesty is
 “ now in Possession of ; and the King
 “ consents further, that such other Places
 “ in *Italy* shall be yielded to the Duke of
 “ *Savoy*, as shall be found necessary, ac-
 “ cording to the Sense of those Treaties
 “ made between the said Duke and his
 “ Allies.

“ THAT the King's Sentiments of the
 “ present Government of *Great Britain*, the
 “ open Declaration he made in *Holland*,
 “ of his Resolution to treat of Peace by
 “ Applications to the *English*, the Assurances
 “ he had given of engaging the King of
 “ *Spain* to leave *Gibraltar* in our Hands
 “ (all which are convincing Proofs of his
 “ perfect Esteem for a Nation still in War
 “ with him) leave no Room to doubt of
 “ his Majesty's Inclination to give *England*
 “ all Securities and Advantages for their
 “ Trade, which they can reasonably de-
 “ mand : But as his Majesty cannot per-
 “ suade himself, that a Government, so
 “ clear-sighted as ours, will insist upon
 “ Conditions which must absolutely de-
 “ stroy the Trade of *France* and *Spain*,
 “ as well as that of all other Nations of
 “ *Europe*, he thinks the Demands made by
 “ *Great Britain*, may require a more par-
 “ ticular Discussion.

“ THAT upon this Foundation the
 “ King thought the best way of advancing
 “ and

“ and perfecting a Negociation, the Beginning of which he had seen with so much Satisfaction, would be to send into *England* a Person instructed in his Intention, and authorized by him to agree upon Securities for settling the Trade of the Subjects of *England*, and those particular Advantages to be stipulated in their Favour, without destroying the Trade of the *French* and *Spaniards*, or of other Nations in Christendom.

“ THAT therefore his Majesty had charged the Person chosen for this Commission, to answer the other Articles of the Memorial given him by Mr *Prior*, the Secret of which should be exactly observed.”

MONSIEUR *de Torcy* had, for some Years passed, used all his Endeavours to incline his Master towards a Peace, pursuant to the Maxim of his Uncle *Colbert*, that a long War was not for the Interest of *France*. It was for this Reason, the King made Choice of him in the Conferences at the *Hague*, the bad Success whereof, although it filled him with Resentments against the *Dutch*, did not alter his Opinion ; but he was violently opposed by a Party both in the Court and Kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sacrifice the Glory of the Prince and Country, by too large

large Concessions, or perhaps would rather wish, that the first Offers should have been still made to the *Dutch*, as a People more likely to be less sollicitous about the Interest of *Britain*, than her Majesty would certainly be for theirs; and the particular Design of Mr. *Prior's* Journey was to find out whether that Minister had Credit enough with his Prince, and a Support from others in Power, sufficient to overrule the Faction against Peace.

Mr. *Prior's* Journey could not be kept a Secret, as the Court here at first seemed to intend it: He was discovered at his Return, by an Officer of the Port at *Dover*, where he landed after six Weeks Absence; upon which the *Dutch Gazettes* and *English News-papers* were full of Speculations.

At the same Time with Mr. *Prior*, there arrived from *France*, Mons. *Mesnager*, Knight of the Order of St. *Michael*, and one of the Council of Trade to the Most Christian King: His Commission was in general, empowering him to treat with the Minister of any Prince engaged in the War against his Master. In his first Conferences with the Queen's Ministers, he pretended Orders to insist, that her Majesty should enter into particular Engagements in several Articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the Interest of the Allies, reciprocally with those of the most Christian King; whereas

E

the

the Negotiation had begun upon this Principle ; That *France* should consent to adjust the Interests of *Great Britain* in the first Place, whereby her Majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her good Offices on all Sides, to facilitate the general Peace. The Queen resolved never to depart from this Principle, but was absolutely determined to remit the particular Interests of the Allies to general Conferences, where she would do the utmost in her Power to procure the Repose of *Europe*, and the Satisfaction of all Parties. It was plain *France* could run no Hazard by this Proceeding, because the Preliminary Articles would have no Force before a general Peace was signed ; therefore it was not doubted, but *Monf. Mesnager* would have Orders to wave this new Pretension, and go on in treating upon that Foot which was at first proposed. In short, the Ministers required a positive and speedy Answer to the Articles in Question, since they contained only such Advantages and Securities as her Majesty thought she had a Right to require from any Prince whatsoever, to whom the Dominions of *Spain* should happen to fall.

THE particular Demands of *Britain* were formed into eight Articles ; to which *Monf. Mesnager*, having transmitted them to his Court and received new Powers from thence, had Orders to give his Master's Consent, by way of Answers to the several Points, to be
obligatory

obligatory only after a general Peace. These Demands, together with the Answers of the *French* King, were drawn up and signed by *Monf. Mefnager*; and her Majesty's two Principal Secretaries of State; whereof I shall here present an Extract to the Reader.

IN the Preamble, the most Christian King sets forth, " That being particularly
 " informed, by the last Memorial which the
 " *British* Ministers delivered to *Monf. Mef-*
 " *nager*, of the Dispositions of this Crown
 " to facilitate a general Peace, to the Sa-
 " tisfaction of the several Parties concern-
 " ed; and his Majesty finding in Effect, as
 " the said Memorial declares, that he runs
 " no Hazard by engaging himself in the
 " manner there expressed, since the Pre-
 " liminary Articles will be of no Force,
 " until the signing of the general Peace;
 " and being sincerely desirous to advance,
 " to the utmost of his Power, the Repose of
 " *Europe*, especially by a way so agreeable
 " as the Interposition of a Princess, whom
 " so many Ties of Blood ought to unite
 " to him, and whose Sentiments for the
 " Public Tranquillity cannot be doubted;
 " his Majesty, moved by these Consider-
 " ations, hath ordered *Monf. Mefnager*,
 " Knight, &c. to give the following An-
 " swers in Writing, to the Articles con-
 " tained in the Memorial transmitted to
 E 2 him,

“ him, entitled, *Preliminary Demands for*
 “ *Great Britain in particular.*”

The Articles were these that follow.

“ *First*, THE Succession to the Crown
 “ to be acknowledged according to the
 “ present Establishment.

“ *Secondly*, A NEW Treaty of Com-
 “ merce between *Great Britain* and *France*,
 “ to be made after the most just and rea-
 “ sonable manner.

“ *Thirdly*, *Dunkirk* to be demolished.

“ *Fourthly*, *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon* to
 “ continue in the Hands of those who now
 “ possess them.

“ *Fifthly*, THE *Asiento* (or Liberty of
 “ selling Negroes to the *Spanish West-Indies*)
 “ to be granted to the *English*, in as full
 “ a manner as the *French* possess it at
 “ present ; and such Places in the said
 “ *West-Indies* to be assigned to the Persons
 “ concerned in this Trade, for the Refresh-
 “ ment and Sale of their Negroes, as shall
 “ be found necessary and convenient.

“ *Sixthly*, WHATEVER Advantages, Pri-
 “ vileges, and Rights, are already, or may
 “ hereafter be granted, by *Spain* to the
 “ Subjects of *France*, or any other Nation,
 “ shall be equally granted to the Subjects
 “ of *Great Britain*.

“ *Seventhly*, FOR better protecting their
 “ Trade in the *Spanish West-Indies*, the
 “ shall be put into Possession of
 “ such

“ such Places as shall be named in the
 “ Treaty of Peace.

“ OR as an Equivalent for this Article, that the *Assiento* be granted to
 “ Britain for the Term of thirty Years,
 “ that the Isle of St. Christopher's be likewise secured to the *English*.

“ THAT the Advantages and Exemption from Duties, promised by *Mont. Mesnager*, which he affirms will amount
 “ to fifteen *per Cent.* upon all Goods of the
 “ Growth and Manufacture of *Great Britain*,
 “ be effectually allowed.

“ THAT whereas on the Side of the
 “ River of *Plate*, the *English* are not in
 “ Possession of any Colony, a certain Extent of Territory be allowed them on
 “ the said River, for refreshing and keeping their Negroes, till they are sold to
 “ the *Spaniards* ; subject nevertheless to
 “ the Inspection of an Officer appointed
 “ by *Spain*.

“ *Eighthly*, *Newfoundland*, and the Bay
 “ and Streights of *Hudson*, shall be entirely
 “ restored to the *English*, and *Great Britain*
 “ and *France* shall respectively keep whatever Dominions in *North America* each
 “ of them shall be in Possession of, when
 “ the Ratification of this Treaty shall be
 “ published in those Parts of the World.

THE six first Articles were allowed without any Difficulty, except that about *Dunkirk*, where *France* was to have an Equivalent

valent to be settled in a general Treaty ; a Difficulty arising upon the seventh Article, the proposed Equivalent was allowed instead thereof.

THE last Article was referred to the general Treaty of Peace, only the *French* were to have the Power of fishing for Cod, and drying them on the Island of *Newfoundland*.

THESE Articles were to be looked upon as Conditions which the most Christian King consented to allow and whenever a general Peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual Form of a Treaty, to the Satisfaction of both Crowns.

THE Queen having thus provided for the Security and Advantage of her Kingdoms, whenever a Peace should be made, and upon Terms no way interfering with the Interest of her Allies, the next thing in order, was to procure from *France* such Preliminary Articles, as might be a Ground upon which to commence a General Treaty : These were adjusted, and signed the same Day with the former, and having been delivered to the several Ministers residing here from the Powers in Alliance with *England*, were quickly made public ; but the various Constructions and Censures which passed upon them, have made it necessary to give the Reader the following Transcript.

PRELIMINARY ARTICLES on the
Part of *France*, for effecting a
General Peace.

“ The King being willing to contribute
“ all that is in his Power to the re-establish-
“ ing of the General Peace, his Majesty
“ declares,

“ I. THAT he will acknowledge the
“ Queen of *Great Britain*, in that Quality ;
“ as also the Succession of that Crown, ac-
“ cording to the present Settlement.

“ II. THAT he will freely, and *bona*
“ *fide*, consent to the taking all just and
“ reasonable Measures, for hindering that
“ the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may
“ ever be united on the Head of the same
“ Prince ; his Majesty being persuaded,
“ that this Excess of Power would be con-
“ trary to the Good and Quiet of *Europe*.

“ III. THE King's Intention is, that all
“ the Parties engaged in the present War,
“ without excepting any of them, may
“ find their reasonable Satisfaction in the
“ Treaty of Peace which shall be made :
“ That Commerce may be re-established
“ and maintained for the future, to the
“ Advantage of *Great Britain*, of *Holland*,
“ and of the other Nations who have been
“ accustomed to exercise Commerce.

“ IV. As the King will likewise main-
“ tain exactly the Observation of the Peace,

“ when it shall be concluded ; and the
 “ Object the King proposes to himself be-
 “ ing to secure the Frontiers of his King-
 “ dom, without disturbing in any man-
 “ ner whatever the Neighbouring States,
 “ he promises to agree, by the Treaty
 “ which shall be made, that the *Dutch*
 “ shall be put in Possession of the fortified
 “ Places which shall be mentioned in the
 “ *Netherlands*, to serve hereafter for a Bar-
 “ rier ; which may secure the Quiet of
 “ the Republic of *Holland*, against any
 “ Enterprize from the Part of *France*.

“ V. THE King consents likewise, that
 “ a secure and convenient Barrier should
 “ be formed for the Empire, and for the
 “ House of *Austria*.

“ VI. NOTWITHSTANDING *Dunkirk* cost
 “ the King very great Sums, as well to
 “ purchase it, as to fortify it ; and that it
 “ is farther necessary to be at very con-
 “ siderable Expence for razing the Works ;
 “ his Majesty is willing however to engage,
 “ to cause them to be demolished, imme-
 “ diately after the Conclusion of the Peace ;
 “ on Condition, that, for the Fortifications
 “ of that Place, a proper Equivalent, that
 “ may content him, be given him : And,
 “ as *England* cannot furnish that Equiva-
 “ lent, the Discussion of it shall be referred
 “ to the Conferences to be held for the
 “ Negotiation of the Peace.

“ VII. WHEN the Conferences for the
 “ Negotiation

“ Negotiation of the Peace shall be formed,
 “ all the Pretensions of the Princes and
 “ States, engaged in the present War, shall
 “ be therein discussed *bona fide*, and ami-
 “ cably ; and nothing shall be omitted,
 “ to regulate and terminate them, to the
 “ Satisfaction of all the Parties.

MESNAGER.”

THESE Overtures are founded upon
 the eighth Article of the Grand Alliance,
 made in 1701, wherein are contained the
 Conditions, without which a Peace is not
 to be made ; and whoever compares both,
 will find the Preliminaries to reach every
 Point proposed in that Article, which those
 who censured them at home, if they spoke
 their Thoughts, did not understand : For
 nothing can be plainer than what the Pub-
 lic hath often been told, that the Recovery
 of *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*, was a
 thing never imagined when the War began,
 but a just and reasonable Satisfaction to the
 Emperor, much less ought such a Condition
 to be held necessary at present ; not only
 because it is allowed on all Hands to be
 impracticable, but likewise because, by the
 Changes in the *Austrian* and *Bourbon* Fam-
 ilies, it would not be safe ; neither did
 those, who were loudest in blaming the
French Preliminaries, know any thing of
 the Advantages privately stipulated for *Bri-*
tain,

tain, whose Interest, they assured us, were all made a Sacrifice to the Corruption or Folly of the Managers; and therefore because the Opposers of Peace have been better informed by what they have since heard and seen, they have changed their Battery, and accused the Ministers for betraying the *Dutch*.

THE Lord *Raby*, her Majesty's Ambassador at the *Hague*, having made a short Journey to *England*, where he was created Earl of *Strafford*, went back to *Holland*, about the Beginning of *October* 1711, with the above Preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the Pensionary and other Ministers of the States; the Earl was instructed to let them know, "that the Queen
 " had, according to their Desire, returned
 " an Answer to the first Propositions signed
 " by Monsieur *Torcy*, signifying, that the
 " *French* Offers were thought, both by her
 " Majesty and the States, neither so particular nor so full as they ought to be, and
 " insisting to have a distinct Project formed
 " of such a Peace, as the most Christian
 " King would be willing to conclude: that
 " this Affair having been for some time
 " transacted by Papers, and thereby subject
 " to Delays, Monsieur *Mesnager* was at
 " length sent over by *France*, and had
 " signed those Preliminaries now communicated to them; that the several Articles
 " did not indeed contain such particular
 " Con-

“ Concessions as *France* must and will make
 “ in the Course of a Treaty, but that how-
 “ ever her Majesty thought them a suffi-
 “ cient Foundation whereon to open the
 “ general Conferences.

“ T H A T her Majesty was unwilling to
 “ be charged with determining the several
 “ Interests of her Allies, and therefore
 “ contented herself with such general Of-
 “ fers, as might include all the particular
 “ Demands proper to be made during the
 “ Treaty, where the Confederates must re-
 “ solve to adhere firmly together, in order
 “ to obtain from the Enemy the utmost
 “ that could be hoped for in the present
 “ Circumstances of Affairs ; which Rule
 “ her Majesty assured the States, she would
 “ on her Part firmly observe.”

I F the Ministers of *Holland* should ex-
 press any Uneasiness, that her Majesty may
 have settled the Interests of her own King-
 doms in a future Peace, by any private Agree-
 ment, the Ambassador was ordered to say,
 “ that the Queen had hitherto refused to
 “ have the Treaty carried on in her own
 “ Kingdom, and would continue to do
 “ so, unless they (the *Dutch*) constrained
 “ her to take another Measure : That, by
 “ these Means, the States, and the rest
 “ of the Allies, would have the Oppor-
 “ tunity of treating and adjusting their
 “ different Pretensions, which her Majesty
 “ would promote, with all the Zeal she

“ R

“ had shewn for the common Good, and
 “ the particular Advantage of that Re-
 “ public (as they must do her the Justice
 “ to confess) in the whole Course of her
 “ Reign: That the Queen had made no
 “ Stipulation for herself, which might clash
 “ with the Interests of *Holland*; and that
 “ the Articles to be inserted in a future
 “ Treaty, for the Benefit of *Britain*, were
 “ for the most Part such as contained
 “ Advantages, which must either be conti-
 “ nued to the Enemy, or be obtained by
 “ her Majesty; but however, that no Con-
 “ cession should tempt her to hearken to
 “ a Peace, unless her good Friends and
 “ Allies the States General, had all reason-
 “ able Satisfaction as to their Trade and
 “ Barrier, as well as in all other Respects.”

AFTER these Assurances given in the
 Queen's Name, the Earl was to insinuate,
 “ That her Majesty should have just Rea-
 “ son to be offended, and to think the
 “ Proceeding between her and the States
 “ very unequal, if they should pretend to
 “ have any further Uneasiness upon this
 “ Head; that being determined to accept
 “ no Advantages to herself, repugnant to
 “ their Interests, nor any Peace without
 “ their reasonable Satisfaction, the Figure
 “ she had made during the whole Course of
 “ the War, and the Part she had acted
 “ superior to any of the Allies, who were
 “ more concerned in Danger and Interest,
 “ might

“ might justly intitle her to settle the Con-
 “ cerns of *Great Britain* before she would
 “ consent to a general Negotiation.”

IF the States should object the Engage-
 ments the Queen was under, by Treaties,
 of making no Peace but in concert with
 them, or the particular Obligations of the
 Barrier Treaty; the Ambassador was to
 answer, “ That as to the former, her
 “ Majesty had not in any Sort acted con-
 “ trary thereto; that she was so far from
 “ making a Peace without their Consent,
 “ as to declare her firm Resolution not to
 “ make it without their Satisfaction; and
 “ that what had passed between *France* and
 “ her, amounted to no more than an In-
 “ troduction to a general Treaty. As to
 “ the Latter, the Earl had Orders to repre-
 “ sent very earnestly, how much it was
 “ even for the Interest of *Holland* itself,
 “ rather to compound the Advantage of
 “ the Barrier Treaty, than to insist upon
 “ the Whole, which the House of *Austria*,
 “ and several other Allies would never
 “ consent to; that nothing could be more
 “ odious to the People of *England* than
 “ many Parts of this Treaty, which would
 “ have raised universal Indignation, if the
 “ utmost Care had not been taken to
 “ quiet the Minds of those who were ac-
 “ quainted with the Terms of that Guaranty,
 “ and to conceal them from those who
 “ were not; that it was absolutely neces-
 “ sary

“ sary to maintain a good Harmony be-
 “ tween both Nations, without which it
 “ would be impossible at any time to form
 “ a Strength for reducing an exorbitant
 “ Power, or preserving the Ballance of *Eu-*
 “ *rope*; from whence it followed, that it
 “ could not be the true Interest of either
 “ Country, to insist upon any Conditions
 “ which might give just Apprehension to
 “ the other.

“ T H A T *France* had proposed *Utrecht*,
 “ *Nimeguen*, *Aix* or *Liege*, wherein to hold the
 “ General Treaty, and her Majesty was
 “ ready to send her Plenipotentiaries to
 “ which ever of those Towns the States
 “ should approve.”

I F the Imperial Ministers, or those of the
 other Allies, should object against the Pre-
 liminaries as no sufficient Ground for open-
 ing the Conferences, and insist that *France*
 should consent to such Articles as were
 signed on the Part of the Allies in the Year
 1709; The Earl of *Strafford* was in Answer
 directed to insinuate, “ That the *French*
 “ might probably have been brought to
 “ explain themselves more particularly, had
 “ they not perceived the Uneasiness, Im-
 “ patience, and Jealousy among the Allies,
 “ during our Transactions with that Court.”
 However he should declare to them, in the
 Queen’s Name, “ That if they were de-
 “ termined to accept of Peace upon no
 “ Terms inferior to what were formerly
 “ de-

“ demanded, her Majesty was ready to
 “ concur with them, but would no longer
 “ bear those Disproportions of Expence
 “ yearly increased upon her, nor the De-
 “ ficiency of the Confederates in every Part
 “ of the War: That it was therefore in-
 “ cumbent upon them to furnish, for the
 “ future, such Quotas of Ships and Forces
 “ as they were now wanting in, and to
 “ increase their Expence, while her Majesty
 “ reduced her’s to a reasonable and just
 “ Proportion.”

THAT if the Ministers of *Vienna* and
Holland should urge their Inability upon this
 Head, the Queen insisted, “ They ought
 “ to comply with her in War or in Peace ;
 “ her Majesty desiring nothing, as to the
 “ First but what they ought to perform,
 “ and what is absolutely necessary ; and as
 “ to the Latter, that she had done, and
 “ would continue to do the utmost in her
 “ Power towards obtaining such a Peace, as
 “ might be to the Satisfaction of all her
 “ Allies.”

SOME Days after the Earl of *Strafford*’s
 Departure to *Holland*, *Monf. Buys*, Pen-
 sioner of *Amsterdam*, arrived here from
 thence with Instructions from his Masters
 to treat upon the Subject of the *French* Pre-
 liminaries, and the Methods for carrying
 on the War. In his first Conference
 with a Committee of Council, he objected
 against all the Articles as too general and
 uncertain

uncertain, and against some of them as prejudicial. He said, "The *French* promising
 " that Trade should be re-established and
 " maintained for the future, was meant in
 " order to deprive the *Dutch* of their Tariff
 " of 1664 ; for the Plenipotentiaries of that
 " Crown would certainly expound the Word
 " *Retabli*r to signify no more, than restoring
 " the Trade of the States to the Condition it was in immediately before the
 " Commencement of the present War." He
 " said, " That, in the Article of *Dunkirk*, the
 " Destruction of the Harbour was not
 " mentioned, and that the Fortifications
 " were only to be razed upon Condition of
 " an Equivalent, which might occasion a
 " Difference between her Majesty and the
 " States, since *Holland* would think it hard
 " to have a Town less in their Barrier for
 " the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, and *England*
 " would complain to have this Thorn continue in their Side, for the sake of giving
 " one Town more to the *Dutch*."

LASTLY, he objected, " That where
 " the *French* promised effectual Methods
 " should be taken to prevent the Union
 " of *France* and *Spain* under the same King,
 " they offered nothing at all for the Cession
 " of *Spain*, which was the most important
 " Point of the War.

" FOR these Reasons, *Monf. Buys* hoped
 " her Majesty would alter her Measures,
 " and demand specific Articles upon which
 " the

“ the Allies might debate whether they
 “ would consent to a Negociation or no.”

THE Queen, who looked upon all these
 Difficulties raised about the Method of treat-
 ing, as Endeavours to wrest the Negociation
 out of her Hands, commanded the Lords of
 the Committee to let *Monf. Buys* know,
 “ That the Experience she formerly had
 “ of proceeding by particular Preliminaries
 “ towards a General Treaty, gave her no
 “ Encouragement to repeat the same Method
 “ any more : That such a Preliminary Treaty
 “ must be negociated either by some parti-
 “ cular Allies, or by all. The first, her
 “ Majesty could never suffer, since she would
 “ neither take upon her to settle the Interests
 “ of others, nor submit that others should
 “ settle those of her own Kingdoms. As
 “ to the second, it was liable to *Monf. Buys's*
 “ Objection, because the Ministers of *France*
 “ would have as fair an Opportunity of sow-
 “ ing Division among the Allies, when the
 “ were all assembled upon a Preliminary
 “ Treaty, as when the Conferences were
 “ open for a Negociation of Peace ; that
 “ this Method could therefore have no
 “ other Effect than to delay the Treaty,
 “ without any Advantage : that her Majesty
 “ was heartily disposed, both then and dur-
 “ ing the Negociation, to insist on every
 “ thing necessary for securing the Barrier
 “ and Commerce of the States, and there-
 “ fore

“ fore hoped the Conferences might be
 “ opened, without farther Difficulties.

“ T H A T her Majesty did not only con-
 “ sent, but desire to have a Plan settled
 “ for carrying on the War, as soon as the
 “ Negotiation of Peace should begin, but
 “ expected to have the Burthen more equally
 “ laid, and more agreeable to Treaties,
 “ and would join with the States in pressing
 “ the Allies to perform their Parts, as she
 “ had endeavoured to animate them by
 “ her Example.”

M O N S. *Buys* seemed to know little of his Masters Mind, and pretended he had no Power to conclude upon any thing. Her Majesty's Minister proposed to him an Alliance between the two Nations, to subsist after a Peace. To this he hearkened very readily, and offered to take the Matter *ad referendum*, having Authority to do no more. His Intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain time to pick out, if possible, the whole Secret of the Transactions between *Britain* and *France*, to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his Masters to any Conditions; to seek Delays till the Parliament met, and then observe what turn it took, and what would be the Issue of those frequent Cabals between himself and some other Foreign Ministers, in Conjunction with the chief Leaders of the discontented Faction.

T H E *Dutch* hoped, that the Clamours
 raised

raised against the Proceedings of the Queen's Ministers towards a Peace, would make the Parliament disapprove what had been done, whereby the States would be at the Head of the Negociation, which the Queen did not think fit to have any more in their Hands, where it had miscarried twice already, although Prince *Eugene* himself owned, "that *France* was then disposed to conclude a Peace upon such Conditions, as it was not worth the Life of a Grenadier to refuse them." As to insisting upon specific Preliminaries, her Majesty thought her own Method much better for each Ally in the Course of the Negociation, to advance and manage his own Pretensions, wherein she would support and assist them, rather than for two Ministers of one Ally to treat solely with the Enemy, and report what they pleased to the rest, as was practised by the *Dutch* at *Gertruidenberg*.

ONE Part of Mons. *Buys*'s Instructions was to desire the Queen not to be so far amused by a Treaty of Peace, as to neglect her Preparation for War against the next Campaign. Her Majesty, who was firmly resolved against submitting any longer to that unequal Burthen of Expence she had hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Secretary *St. John* to debate the Matter with that Minister, who said he had no Power to treat, only insisted that his Masters had fully done their Part, and that nothing but Exhortations

tations could be used to prevail on the other Allies to act with greater Vigour.

ON the other Side, the Queen refused to concert any Plan for the Prosecution of the War, till the States would join with her in agreeing to open the Conferences of Peace; which therefore, by Mons. *Luy's* Application to them, was accordingly done, by a Resolution taken in *Holland* upon the Twenty-first of *November* 1711, N. S.

ABOUT this time the Count *de Gallas* was forbid the Court, by Order from the Queen, who sent him Word, that she looked upon him no longer as a Public Minister.

THIS Gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable Part here in *England*, altogether inconsistent with the Character he bore of Envoy from the late and present Emperors; two Princes under the strictest Ties of Gratitude to the Queen, especially the latter, who had then the Title of King of *Spain*. Count *Gallas*, about the End of *August* 1711, with the utmost Privacy, dispatched an *Italian*, one of his Clerks, to *Frankfort*, where the Earl of *Peterborough* was then expected. This Man was instructed to pass for a *Spaniard*, and insinuate himself into the Earl's Service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant Information to the last Emperor's Secretary at *Frankfort*, of all he could gather up in his Lordship's Family, as well as Copies of several Letters he had transcribed. It

was

was likewise discovered that *Gallas* had, in his Dispatches to the present Emperor, then in *Spain*, represented the Queen and her Ministers as not to be confided in ; that when her Majesty had dismissed the Earl of *Sunderland*, she promised to proceed no further in the Change of her Servants, yet soon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the Public Credit, as well as abandoned *Spain* ; that the present Ministers wanted the Abilities and good Dispositions of the former, were Persons of ill Designs and Enemies to the Common Cause, and he (*Gallas*) could not trust them. In his Letters to Count *Zinzendorf* he said, " that Mr. Secretary *St. John* complained of the House of *Austria's* Backwardness, only to make the King of *Spain* odious to *England*, and the People here desirous of a Peace, although it were ever so bad a one ; " to prevent which, Count *Gallas* drew up a Memorial which he intended to give the Queen, and transmitted a Draught of it to *Zinzendorf* for his Advice and Approbation. This Memorial, among other great Promises to encourage the Continuance of the War, proposed the detaching a good Body of Troops from *Hungary*, to serve in *Italy* or *Spain*, as the Queen should think fit.

Zinzendorf thought this too bold a Step without consulting the Emperor ; to which *Gallas* replied, that his Design was only

to engage the Queen to go on with the War; that *Zinzendorf* knew how earnestly the *English* and *Dutch* had pressed to have these Troops from *Hungary*, and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two Nations, after which several Ways might be found to elude that Promise, and in the mean time the great Point would be gained of bringing the *English* to declare for continuing the War: That the Emperor might afterwards excuse himself, by Apprehension of a War in *Hungary*, or of that between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*; that if these Excuses should be at an End, a Detachment of one or two Regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred by pretending want of Money, by which the Queen would probably be brought to maintain some Part of those Troops, and perhaps the whole Body. He added, that this Way of Management was very common among the Allies, and gave for an Example, the Forces which the *Dutch* had promised for the Service of *Spain*, but were never sent; with several other Instances of the same Kind, which he said might be produced.

HER Majesty, who had long suspected that Count *Gallas* was engaged in these and the like Practices, having at last received authentic Proofs of this whole Intrigue from Original Letters, and the voluntary Confession of those who were principally concerned

cerned in carrying it on, thought it necessary to shew her Resentment, by refusing the Count any more Access to her Person or her Court.

ALTHOUGH the Queen, as it hath been already observed, was resolved to open the Conferences upon the general Preliminaries, yet she thought it would very much forward the Peace, to know what were the utmost Concessions which *France* would make to the several Allies, but especially to the States-General and the Duke of *Savoy*; therefore, while her Majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general Treaty, the Abbé *Gualtier* was sent to *France* with a Memorial, to desire that the most Christian King would explain himself upon those Preliminaries, particularly with Relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*, whose Satisfaction the Queen had most at Heart, as well from her Friendship to both these Powers, as because if she might engage to them, that their just Pretensions would be allowed, few Difficulties would remain, of any Moment, to retard the General Peace.

THE *French* Answer to this Memorial contained several Schemes and Proposals for the Satisfaction of each Ally, coming up very near to what her Majesty and her Ministers thought reasonable. The greatest Difficulties seemed to be about the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose Interests *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the
Queen

Queen was for those of the Duke of *Savoy*; however those were judged not very hard to be surmounted.

THE States having at length agreed to a General Treaty, the following Particulars were concerted between her Majesty and that Republic :

“ THAT the Congress should be held
 “ at *Utrecht* ; that the Opening of the
 “ Congress should be upon the Twelfth
 “ of *January*, N. S. 1711-12.

“ THAT for avoiding all Inconveni-
 “ ences of Ceremony, the Ministers of the
 “ Queen and States, during the Treaty,
 “ should have only the Characters of Pleni-
 “ potentiaries, and not take that of Am-
 “ bassadors, till the Day on which the
 “ Peace should be signed.

“ LASTLY, The Queen and States
 “ insisted, that the Ministers of the Duke
 “ of *Anjou*, and the late Electors of *Bavaria*
 “ and *Cologne*, should not appear at the
 “ Congress until the Points relating to their
 “ Masters were adjusted ; and were firmly
 “ resolved not to send their Passports for
 “ the Ministers of *France* till the most
 “ Christian King declared, that the Absence
 “ of the forementioned Ministers should
 “ not delay the Progress of the Nego-
 “ ciation.”

PURSUANT to the three former Articles, her Majesty wrote circular Letters to all the Allies engaged with her in the pre-
 sent

sent War, and *France* had Notice, that as soon as the King declared his Compliance with the last Article, the Blank Passports should be filled up with the Names of the Marechal *D'Uxelles*, the Abbé *de Polignac*, and Mons. *Mesnager*, who were appointed Plenipotentiaries for that Crown.

FROM that I have hitherto deduced, the Reader sees the Plan which the Queen thought the most effectual for advancing a Peace. As the Conferences were to begin upon the general Preliminaries, the Queen was to be empowered by *France* to offer separately to the Allies, what might be reasonable for each to accept, and her own Interests being previously settled, she was to act as a general Mediator, a Figure that became her best from the Part she had in the War, and more useful to the great End at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honourable Peace to *Europe*.

BESIDES, it was absolutely necessary for the Interests of *Britain*, that the Queen should be at the Head of the Negotiation, without which her Majesty could find no Expedient to redress the Injuries her Kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier Treaty. In order to settle this Point with the States, the Ministers here had a Conference with Mons. *Buys* a few Days before the Parliament met. He was told, "how necessary it was, by a previous Concert between the Emperor, the Queen, and
F " the

“ the States, to prevent any Difference
 “ which might arise in the Course of the
 “ *Utrecht* Treaty ; that under Pretence of a
 “ Barrier for the States-General, as their Se-
 “ curity against *France*, infinite Prejudice
 “ might arise to the Trade of *Britain* in the
 “ *Spanish Netherlands* ; for by the Fifteenth
 “ Article of the Barrier Treaty, in Conse-
 “ quence of what was stipulated by that of
 “ *Munster*, the Queen was brought to en-
 “ gage, that Commerce shall not be rendered
 “ more easy in Point of Duties, by the Sea-
 “ Ports of *Flanders*, than it is by the River
 “ *Scheld*, and by the Canals on the Side of
 “ the Seven Provinces, which as Things now
 “ stood, was very unjust ; for while the
 “ Towns in *Flanders* were in the Hands of
 “ *France* or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and we traded
 “ to them upon equal Foot ; but now, since
 “ by the Barrier Treaty those Towns were
 “ to be possessed by the States, that Republic
 “ might lay what Duties they pleased upon
 “ *British* Goods after passing by *Ostend*, and
 “ make their own Custom free, which would
 “ utterly ruin our whole Trade with *Flan-*
 “ *ders*.”

UPON this, the Lords told Mons. *Buys*
 very frankly, “ that if the States expected
 “ the Queen should support their Barrier, as
 “ well as their Demands from *France* and
 “ the House of *Austria*, upon that Head,
 “ they ought to agree, that the Subjects of
 “ *Britain* should trade as freely to all the
 “ Countries

“ Countries and Places which, by Virtue of any
 “ former or future Treaty, were to become
 “ the Barrier of the States, as they did in
 “ the Time of the late King *Charles* the Se-
 “ cond of *Spain*, or as the Subjects of the
 “ States General themselves shall do: and
 “ that it was hoped their High Mightinesses
 “ would never scruple to rectify a Mistake so
 “ injurious to that Nation, without whose
 “ Blood and Treasure they would have had
 “ no Barrier at all.” *Monf. Buys* had nothing
 to answer against these Objections, but said,
 he had already wrote to his Masters for fur-
 ther Instructions.

GREATER Difficulties occurred about
 settling what should be the Barrier to the
 States after a Peace, the Envoy insisting to
 have all the Towns that were named in the
 Treaty of Barrier and Succession; and the
 Queen’s Ministers expecting those Towns;
 which, if they continued in the Hands of the
Dutch, would render the Trade of *Britain* to
Flanders precarious. At length it was agreed
 in general, that the States ought to have what
 is really Essential to the Security of their Bar-
 rier against *France*, and that some amicable
 Expedient should be found for removing
 the Fears both of *Britain* and *Holland*
 upon this Point.

BUT at the same time *Monf. Buys* was
 told, “ That although the Queen would
 “ certainly insist to obtain all those Points
 “ from *France*, in Behalf of her Allies the
 F 2 “ States,

“ States, yet she hoped his Masters were
 “ too reasonable to break off the Treaty,
 “ rather than not obtain the very utmost of
 “ their Demands, which could not be set-
 “ tled here, unless he were fully instructed
 “ to speak and conclude upon that Subject:
 “ That her Majesty thought, the best Way of
 “ securing the common Interest, and pre-
 “ venting the Division of the Allies by the
 “ Artifices of *France*, in the Course of a
 “ long Negotiation, would be to concert
 “ between the Queen’s Ministers and those
 “ of the States, with a due Regard to the
 “ other Confederates, such a Plan as might
 “ amount to a safe and honourable Peace.”

After which the Abbé *Polignac*, who of the
French Plenipotentiaries was most in the Se-
 cret of his Court, might be told, “ That it
 “ was in vain to amuse each other any
 “ longer ; that on such Terms the Peace
 “ would be immediately concluded ; and
 “ that the Conferences must cease, if those
 “ Conditions were not, without Delay, and
 “ with Expedition, granted.”

A T R E A T Y between her Majesty and
 the States, to subsist after a Peace, was now
 signed, *Monf. Buys* having received full
 Powers to that Purpose, his Masters were
 desirous to have a private Article added,
sub sperati, concerning those Terms of
 Peace, without the granting of which we
 should stipulate not to agree with the En-
 my. But neither the Character of *Buys*,
 nor

nor the Manner in which he was empowered to treat, would allow the Queen to enter into such an Engagement; the Congress likewise approaching, there was not time to settle a Point of so great Importance. Neither, lastly, would her Majesty be tied down by *Holland*, without previous Satisfaction upon several Articles in the Barrier Treaty, so inconsistent with her Engagement to other Powers in the Alliance, and so injurious to her own Kingdoms.

THE Lord Privy Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, having, about the time the Parliament met, been appointed her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries for treating a General Peace, I shall here break off the Account of any further Progress made in that great Affair, until I resume it in the last Book of this History.



BOOK III.

THE House of Commons seemed resolved, from the Beginning of the Session, to enquire strictly not only into all Abuses relating to the Accounts of the Army, but likewise into the several Treaties between us and our Allies, upon what Articles and Conditions they were first agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In the first Week of their Sitting, they sent an Address to the Queen, to desire that the Treaty, whereby her Majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand Men, to act in Conjunction with the Forces of her Allies in the Low-Countries, might be laid before the House. To which the Secretary of State brought an Answer, " That Search had been made, " but no Footsteps could be found of any " Treaty or Convention for that Purpose." It was this unaccountable Neglect in the former Ministry, which first gave a Pre-
tence to the Allies for lessening their Quota's, so much to the Disadvantage of her Majesty, her Kingdoms, and the Common Cause, in the Course of the War. It had

had been stipulated by the Grand Alliance, between the Emperor, *Britain*, and the States, that those three Powers should assist each other with their whole Force, and that the several Proportions should be specified in a particular Convention; but if any such Convention were made, it was never ratified, only the Parties agreed, by common Consent, to take each a certain Share of the Burthen upon themselves, which the late King *William* communicated to the House of Commons by his Secretary of State, and which afterwards the other two Powers, observing the mighty Zeal in our Ministry for prolonging the War, eluded as they pleased.

THE Commissioners for stating the Public Accounts of the Kingdom, had, in executing their Office the preceding Summer, discovered several Practices relating to the Affairs of the Army, which they drew up in a Report, and delivered to the House.

THE Commons began their Examination of the Report, with a Member of their own, Mr. *R—t W——e*, already mentioned, who, during his being Secretary at War, had received Five Hundred Guineas, and taken a Note for Five Hundred Pounds more, on account of two Contracts for Forage of the Queen's Troops quartered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuse the first Contract; but had nothing

to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the Author of it guilty of a high Breach of Trust, and notorious Corruption, committed him Prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the End of the Session, and expelled him the House. He was a Person much carested by the Opposers of the Queen and Ministry, having been first drawn into their Party by his Indifference to any Principles, and afterwards kept steady by the Loss of his Place. His bold forward Countenance, altogether a Stranger to that Infirmary which makes Men bashful, joined to a Readiness of speaking in Public, hath justly intitled him among those of his Faction, to be a sort of Leader of the second Form. The Reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.

ANOTHER Part of the Report, concerned the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had received large Sums of Money, by way of Gratuity, from those who were the Undertakers for providing the Army with Bread. This the Duke excused, in a Letter to the Commissioners, from the like Practice of other Generals ; but that Excuse appeared to be of little Weight, and the mischievous Consequences of such a Corruption were visible enough, since the Money given by these Undertakers, were but Bribes for
Connivance

Connivance at their indirect Dealings with the Army. And as Frauds that begin at the Top, are apt to spread through all the subordinate Ranks of those who have any Share in the Management, and to increase as they circulate, so in this Case, for every thousand Pounds given to the General, the Soldiers at least suffered four-fold.

ANOTHER Article of this Report, relating to the Duke, was yet of more Importance : The greatest Part of her Majesty's Forces in *Flanders*, were mercenary Troops, hired from several Princes of *Europe*. It was found, that the Queen's General subtracted two and a half *per Cent.* out of the Pay of those Troops, for his own Use, which amounted to a great annual Sum. The Duke of *Marlborough*, in his Letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the Matter, told the Commissioners, " That this Deduction was a
 " free Gift from the foreign Troops, which
 " he had negotiated with them by the late
 " King's Orders, and had obtained the
 " Queen's Warrant for reserving and receiving it : That it was intended for
 " secret Service, the Ten Thousand Pounds
 " a Year, given by Parliament, not proving sufficient, and had all been laid out
 " that Way." The Commissioners observed in Answer, " That the Warrant was kept
 " dormant for nine Years, as indeed no

“ Entry of it appeared in the Secretary
 “ of States Books, and the Deduction of
 “ it concealed all that Time from the
 “ Knowledge of Parliament ; that if it had
 “ been a free Gift from the Foreign Troops,
 “ it would not have been stipulated by
 “ Agreement, as the Duke’s Letter con-
 “ fessed, and as his Warrant declared ;
 “ which Letter affirmed this Stoppage to
 “ be intended for defraying extraordinary
 “ contingent Expences of the Troops, and
 “ therefore should not have been applied
 “ to secret Services.” They submitted to
 the House, whether the Warrant itself were
 legal or duly counter-signed ; the Com-
 missioners added, “ That no Receipt was
 “ ever given for this deducted Money, nor
 “ was it mentioned in any Receipts from
 “ the Foreign Troops, which were always
 “ taken in full. And lastly, that the whole
 “ Sum, on Computation, amounted to near
 “ three hundred thousand Pounds.”

THE House, after a long Debate, re-
 solved, “ That the taking several Sums
 “ from the Contractors for Bread, by the
 “ Duke of *Marlborough*, was unwarrant-
 “ able and illegal ; and that the two and a
 “ half *per Cent*, deducted from the Foreign
 “ Troops, was Public Money, and ought
 “ to be accounted for.” Which Resolu-
 tions were laid before the Queen by the
 whole House, and her Majesty promised to
 do her Part in redressing what was com-
 plained

plained of. The Duke and his Friends had, about the Beginning of the War, by their Credit with the Queen, procured a Warrant from her Majesty for this Perquisite of two and a half *per Cent.* The Warrant was directed to the D— of M—gh, and counter-signed by Sir *Charles Hedges*, then Secretary of State; by Virtue of which the Paymaster-General of the Army was to pay the said deducted Money to the General, and take a Receipt in full from the Foreign Troops.

It was observed, as very commendable and becoming the Dignity of such an Assembly, that this Debate was managed with great Temper, and with few personal Reflections upon the Duke of *Marlborough*. They seemed only desirous to come at the Truth, without which they could not answer the Trust reposed in them, by those whom they represented, and left the rest to her Majesty's Prudence. The Attorney-General was ordered to commence an Action against the Duke for the subtracted Money, which would have amounted to a great Sum, enough to ruin any private Person, except himself. This Process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the Queen's Indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted, or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future Demeanour of the Defendant.

SOME

SOME time after, Mr. *Cardonell*, a Member of Parliament, and Secretary to the General in *Flanders*, was expelled the House, for the Offence of receiving yearly Bribes from those who had contracted to furnish Bread for the Army, and met with no farther Punishment, for a Practice voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

THESE were all the Censures of any Moment which the Commons, under so great a Weight of Business, thought fit to make, upon the Reports of their Commissioners for inspecting the Public Accounts. But having promised in the Beginning of this History, to examine the State of the Nation, with respect to its Debts; by what Negligence or Corruption they first began, and in Process of Time made such a prodigious Increase; and lastly, what Courses have been taken, under the present Administration, to find out Funds for answering so many unprovided Incumbrances, as well as put a Stop to new ones, I shall endeavour to satisfy the Reader upon this important Article.

By all I have yet read of the History of our own Country, it appears to me, that the National Debt, secured upon Parliamentary Funds of Interest, were things unknown in *England* before the last Revolution under the Prince of *Orange*. It is true, that in the Grand Rebellion, the King's Enemies borrowed Money of particular Persons,

Persons, upon what they called the Public Faith; but this was only for short Periods, and the Sums no more than what they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our Kings have been very profuse in Peace and War, and are blamed in History for their Oppressions of the People by severe Taxes, and for borrowing Money which they never paid: But National Debts was a Stile which, I doubt, would hardly then be understood. When the Prince of *Orange* was raised to the Throne, and a general War began in these Parts of *Europe*, the King and his Counsellors thought it would be ill Policy to commence his Reign with heavy Taxes upon the People, who had lived long in Ease and Plenty, and might be apt to think their Deliverance too dearly bought; wherefore one of the first Actions of the new Government was to take off the Tax upon Chimnies, as a Burthen very ungrateful to the Commonalty. But Money being wanted to support the War (which even the Convention Parliament, that put the Crown upon his Head, were very unwilling he should engage in) the present Bishop of *Salisbury* * is said to have found out that Expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raising Money upon the Security

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

of Taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large Interest. The Motives which prevailed on People to fall in with this Project, were many and plausible ; for supposing, as the Ministers industriously gave out, that the War could not last above one or two Campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate Taxes, and the Debts accruing would, in Process of Time, be easily cleared after a Peace. Then the Bait of large Interest would draw in a great Number of those whose Money, by the Dangers and Difficulties of Trade, lay dead upon their Hands ; and whoever were Lenders to the Government, would, by surest Principle, be obliged to support it : Besides, the Men of Estates could not be persuaded, without Time and Difficulty, to have those Taxes laid on their Lands, which Custom hath since made so familiar ; and it was the Business of such as were then in Power, to cultivate a monied Interest, because the Gentry of the Kingdom did not very much relish those new Notions in Government, to which the King, who had imbibed his Politics in his own Country, was thought to give too much Way. Neither perhaps did that Prince think National Incumbrances to be any evil at all, since the flourishing Republic where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to

Mons.

Monf. *Buy*s the many Millions we owed, he would advance it as a Maxim, that it was for the Interest of the Public to be in Debt; which perhaps may be true in a Commonwealth so crazily instituted, where the Governors cannot have too many Pledges of their Subjects Fidelity, and where a great Majority must inevitably be undone by any Revolution, however brought about: But to prescribe the same Rules to a Monarchy, whose Wealth ariseth from the Rents and Improvements of Lands, as well as Trade and Manufactures, is the Mark of a confined and cramped Understanding.

I WAS moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied, that the pernicious Counsels of borrowing Money upon public Funds of Interest, as well as some other State-lessons, were taken indigested from the like Practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the least for any difference in Government, Religion, Law, Custom, Extent of Country, or Manners and Dispositions of the People.

BUT when this Expedient of Anticipations and Mortgages was first put in Practice, artful Men, in Office and Credit, began to consider what Uses it might be applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful Seminary, not only to establish a Faction they intended to set up for their own Support, but likewise to raise vast Wealth for themselves in particular,

lar, who were to be the Managers and Directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these two Designs so much, as burthening the Nation with Debts, and giving Encouragement to Lenders: for, as to the first, it was not to be doubted, that monied Men would be always firm to the Party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good Security, and with such exorbitant Premiums and Interest; and every new Sum that was lent, took away as much Power from the landed Men, as it added to theirs: so that the deeper the Kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new Estate and Property sprung up in the Hands of Mortgagees, to whom every House and Foot of land in *England* paid a Rent-charge, free of all Taxes and Defalcations, and purchased at less than half Value. So that the Gentlemen of Estates were, in effect, but Tenants to these new Landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the Election of Boroughs out of the Hands of those who had been the old Proprietors and Inhabitants. This was arrived to such a Height, that a very few Years more of War and Funds would have clearly cast the Balance on the monied Side.

As to the second, this Project of borrowing upon Funds, was of mighty Advantage to those who were in the Management of it, as well as to their Friends and Dependents;

dants; for, Funds proving often deficient, the Government was obliged to strike Tallies for making up the rest, which Tallies were sometimes (to speak in the Merchants Phrase) at above forty *per Cent.* Discount. At this Price those who were in the Secret bought them up, and then took care to have that Deficiency supplied in the next Session of Parliament, by which they doubled their Principal in a few Months; and, for the Encouragement of Lenders, every new Project of Lotteries or Annuities proposed some farther Advantage, either as to Interest or Premium.

IN the year 1697, a general Mortgage was made of certain Revenues and Taxes already settled, which amounted to near a Million a Year. This Mortgage was to continue till 1706, to be a Fund for the Payment of about five Millions one hundred thousand Pounds. In the first Parliament of the Queen, the said Mortgage was continued till 1710, to supply a Deficiency of two Millions three hundred thousand Pounds, and Interest of above a Million; and in the intermediate Years a great Part of that Fund was branched out into Annuities for ninety-nine Years; so that the late Ministry raised all their Money to 1710, only by continuing Funds which were already granted to their Hands. This deceived the People in general, who were satisfied to continue the Payments they had been

been accustomed to, and made the Administration seem easy, since the War went on without any new Taxes raised, except the very last Year they were in Power; not considering what a mighty Fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to Trade, and to the true Interest of the Nation.

THIS great Fund of the general Mortgage was not only loaded, Year after Year, by mighty Sums borrowed upon it, but with the Interests due upon those Sums; for which the Treasury was forced to strike Tallies, payable out of that Fund, after all the Money already borrowed upon it, there being no other Provision of Interest for three or four Years: Till at last the Fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay Principal nor Interest, and Tallies were struck for both, which occasioned their great Discount.

BUT to avoid Mistakes upon a Subject, where I am not very well versed either in the Style or Matter, I will transcribe an Account sent me by a Person * who is thoroughly instructed in these Affairs.

“ IN the Year 1707, the Sum of eight
 “ hundred twenty-two thousand three hun-
 “ dred and eighty-one Pounds fifteen Shil-
 “ lings and six-pence was raised, by con-

* Sir John Blunt.

“ tinuing Part of the general Mortgage
 “ from 1710 to 1712 ; but with no Pro-
 “ vision of Interest till *August* the first, 1710,
 “ otherwise than by striking Tallies for it
 “ on that Fund, payable after all the other
 “ Money borrowed.

“ IN 1708, the same Funds were con-
 “ tinued from 1712 to 1714, to raise seven
 “ hundred twenty-nine thousand sixty-se-
 “ ven Pounds fifteen Shillings and six-
 “ pence ; but no Provision for Interest till
 “ *August* the first, 1712, otherwise than as
 “ before, by striking Tallies for it on the
 “ same Fund, payable after all the rest of
 “ the Money borrowed. And the Dis-
 “ count of Tallies then beginning to rise,
 “ great Part of that Money remains still
 “ unraised ; and there is nothing to pay
 “ Interest for the Money lent, till *August*
 “ the first, 1712. But the late Lord Trea-
 “ surer struck Tallies for the full Sum
 “ directed by the Act to be borrowed, great
 “ Part of which have been delivered in
 “ Payment to the Navy and Victualling-
 “ Offices, and some are still in the Hands
 “ of the Government.

“ IN 1709, Part of the same Fund was
 “ continued from *August* the first, 1714,
 “ to *August* the first, 1716, to raise six
 “ hundred forty-five thousand Pounds ; and
 “ no Provision for Interest till *August* the
 “ first, 1714 (which was about five Years)
 “ but by borrowing Money on the same
 “ Fund,

“ Fund, payable after the Sums before
 “ lent ; so that little of that Money was
 “ lent. But the Tallies were struck for
 “ what was unlent, some of which were
 “ given out for the Payment of the Navy
 “ and Victualling, and some still remain
 “ in the Hands of the Government.

“ IN 1710, the Sums which were before
 “ given from 1714, to 1716, were con-
 “ tinued from thence to 1720, to raise one
 “ Million two hundred and ninety-six thou-
 “ sand five hundred and fifty-two Pounds
 “ nine Shillings and eleven Pence three
 “ Farthings ; and no immediate Provision
 “ for Interest till *August* the first, 1716,
 “ only, after the Duty of one Shilling *per*
 “ Bushel on Salt should be cleared from
 “ the Money it was then charged with, and
 “ which was not so cleared till *Midsummer*
 “ 1712 last, then that Fund was to be ap-
 “ plied to pay the Interest till *August* the
 “ first, 1716, which Interest amounted
 “ to about seventy-seven thousand seven
 “ hundred and ninety-three Pounds *per*
 “ *Annus* : And the said Salt Fund pro-
 “ duceth but about fifty-five thousand
 “ Pounds *per Annus* ; so that no Money
 “ was borrowed upon the general Mort-
 “ gage in 1710, except one hundred and
 “ fifty thousand Pounds lent by the *Swiss*
 “ Cantons ; but Tallies were struck for
 “ the whole Sum. These all remained in
 “ the late Treasurer’s Hands at the Time
 “ of

“ of his Removal, yet the Money was expended, which occasioned those great Demands upon the Commissioners of the Treasury who succeeded him, and were forced to pawn those Tallies to the Bank, or to Remitters, rather than sell them at twenty or twenty-five *per Cent.* Discount, as the Price then was. About two hundred thousand Pounds of them they paid to Clothiers of the Army, and others; and all the rest, being above ninety thousand Pounds, have been subscribed into the *South-sea* Company for the Use of the Public.”

WHEN the Earl of *Godolphin* was removed from his Employment, he left a Debt upon the Navy of Millions, all contracted under his Administration, which had no Parliament-Security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether that Lord had the smallest Prospect of clearing this Incumbrance, or whether there were Policy, Negligence, or Despair at the Bottom of this unaccountable Management. But the Consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this means Navy Bills grew to be forty *per Cent.* Discount, and upwards; and almost every kind of Stores, bought by the Navy and Victualling-Offices, cost the Government double Rates, and sometimes more: so that the Public hath directly lost several Millions upon this one Article, without any sort of Necessity, that

that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest Vindicators of that Party.

IN this oppressed and intangled State was the Kingdom, with relation to its Debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of *Godolphin* from his Office, and put it into Commission, of which the present Treasurer was one. This Person had been chosen Speaker successively to three Parliaments, was afterwards Secretary of State, and always in great Esteem with the Queen for his Wisdom and Fidelity. The late Ministry, about two Years before their Fall, had prevailed with her Majesty, much against her Inclination, to dismiss him from her Service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same Thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he should succeed in a second Attempt against those very Adversaries, who had such fair Warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his Resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he hath once possessed himself of an Opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by Experience, that a Secret is seldom safe in more than one Breast. That which occurs to other Men after mature Deliberation, offers to him as his first Thoughts; so that he decides immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a Loss upon sudden Exigencies.

He

He thinks it a more easy and safe Rule in Politics to watch Incidents as they come, and then turn them to the Advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great Distance. Fear, Cruelty, Avarice, and Pride, are wholly Strangers to his Nature; but he is not without Ambition. There is one Thing peculiar in his Temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other Man's Character: I mean, an Easiness and Indifference under any Imputation, although he be never so innocent, and although the strongest Probabilities and Appearances are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest Friends, for some Months, in Points of the highest Importance, to a Degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by Time and Accident. His Detractors, who charge him with Cunning, are but ill acquainted with his Character; for, in the Sense they take the Word, and as it is usually understood, I know no Man to whom that mean Talent could be with less Justice applied, as the Conduct of Affairs, while he hath been at the Helm, doth clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the Nature and Principles of Cunning, which is always employed in serving little Turns, proposing little Ends, and supplying daily Exigencies by little Shifts and Expedients. But to rescue a Prince
out

out of the Hands of insolent Subjects, bent upon such Designs as must probably end in the Ruin of the Government ; to find out Means for paying such exorbitant Debts as this Nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better Management ; to make a potent Enemy offer advantageous Terms of Peace, and deliver up the most important Fortrefs of his Kingdom, as a Security ; and this against all the Opposition, mutually raised and inflamed by Parties and Allies ; such Performances can only be called cunning by those whose want of Understanding, or of Candour, puts them upon finding ill Names for great Qualities of the Mind, neither which themselves do possess, nor can form any just Conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate Love of Secrecy in this Minister seems, at Distance, to have some Resemblance of Cunning ; for he is not only very Retentive of Secrets, but appears to be so too, which I number amongst his Defects. He hath been blamed by his Friends for refusing to discover his Intentions, even in those Points where the wisest Man may have need of Advice and Assistance ; and some have censured him, upon that Account, as if he were jealous of Power : but he hath been heard to answer, “ That he seldom did “ otherwise, without cause to repent.”

HOWEVER, so undistinguished a Caution cannot, in my Opinion, be justified,
by

by which the Owner loseth many Advantages, and whereof all Men, who deserved to be confided in, may with some Reason complain. His Love of Procrastination (wherein doubtless Nature hath her Share) may probably be increased by the same Means ; but this is an Imputation laid upon many other great Ministers, who like Men under too heavy a Load, let fall that which is of the least Consequence, and go back to fetch it when their Shoulders are free ; for Time is often gained, as well as lost, by Delay, which at worst is a Fault on the securer Side. Neither probably is this Minister answerable for half the Clamour raised against him upon that Article : His Endeavours are wholly turned upon the general Welfare of his Country, but perhaps with too little Regard to that of Particular Persons, which renders him less amiable, than he would otherwise have been from the Goodness of his Humour, and agreeable Conversation in a private Capacity, and with few Dependents. Yet some Allowance may perhaps be given to this Failing, which is one of the greatest he hath, since he cannot be more Careless of other Men's Fortunes than he is of his own. He is Master of a very great and faithful Memory, which is of mighty Use in the Management of Public Affairs ; and I believe there are few Examples to be produced in any Age, of a Person who hath passed

G

through

through so many Employments in the State, endowed with a great Share, both of Divine and Human Learning.

I AM persuaded that Foreigners, as well as those at Home, who live too remote from the Scene of Business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this Account of a Person, who in the Space of two Years, hath been so highly Instrumental in changing the Face of Affairs in *Europe*, and hath deserved so well of his own Prince and Country.

IN that perplexed Condition of the Public Debts, which I have already described, this Minister was brought into the Treasury and Exchequer, and had the chief Direction of Affairs. His first Regulation was that of Exchequer Bills, which, to the great Discouragement of Public Credit, and Scandal to the Crown, were *Three per Cent.* less in Value than the Sums specified in them. The present Treasurer, being then Chancellor of the Exchequer, procured an Act of Parliament, by which the Bank of *England* should be obliged, in Consideration of Forty-five Thousand Pounds, to accept and circulate those Bills without any Discount. He then proceeded to stop the Depredations of those who dealt in Remittances of Money to the Army, who, by unheard-of Exactions in that Kind of Traffic, had amassed prodigious Wealth at the Public Cost, to which the Earl of *Godolphin*

pin had given too much Way, * *possibly*
by Neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of
Corruption.

BUT the new Treasurer's chief Concern was to restore the Credit of the Nation, by finding some Settlement for unprovided Debts, amounting in the whole to Ten Millions, which hung on the Public as a Load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any Prospect of being removed, and which former Ministers never had the Care or Courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the Bottom of this Evil; and having computed and summed up the Debt of the Navy, and Victualling, Ordinance, and Transport of the Army, and Transport Debentures made out for the Service of the last War, of the general Mortgage-Tallies for the Year 1710, and some other Deficiencies, he then found out a Fund of Interest sufficient to answer all this, which, being applied to other Uses, could not raise present Money for the War, but in a very few Years would clear the Debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing Interest was to be paid by the Treasurer of the Navy; and, as a farther Advantage to the Creditors, they should be erected into a Company for trading to the South-Seas, and for Encouragement of

* Added in the Author's own Hand-Writing.

Fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a Motion in the House of Commons (who deferred extremely to his Judgment and Abilities) for paying the Debts of the Navy, and other unprovided Deficiencies, without entering into Particulars, which was immediately voted. But a sudden Stop was put to this Affair by an unforeseen Accident. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (which was then his Title) being stabbed with a Penknife, the following Day, at the Cockpit, in the Midst of a Dozen Lords of the Council, by the *Sieur de Guiscard*, a *French* Papist; the Circumstances of which Fact being not within the Compass of this History, I shall only observe, that after two Months Confinement, and frequent Danger of his Life, he returned to his Seat in Parliament*.

THE Overtures made by this Minister, of paying so vast a Debt, under the Pressures of a long War, and the Difficulty of finding Supplies for continuing it, was, during the Time of his Illness, ridiculed by his Enemies as an impracticable and and visionary Project: and when, upon his Return to the House, he had explained his Proposal, the very Proprietors of the Debt were, many of them prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this Trade,

* See the particular Account in the *Examiner*.
either

either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spanish West-Indies*, had been one principal End we aimed at by this War. However, the Bill passed; and, as an immediate Consequence, the Naval Bills rose to about Twenty *per Cent.* nor ever fell within Ten of their Discount. Another good Effect of this Work appeared by the Parliamentary Lotteries, which have been since erected. The last of that Kind, under the former Ministry, was eleven Weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few Hours, although it cost the Government less; and the others, which followed, were full before the Acts concerning them could pass. And to prevent Incumbrances of this Kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmost Parsimony, or by suspending Payments, where they seemed less to press, that all Stores for the Navy should be bought with ready Money; by which *Cent. per Cent.* hath been saved in that mighty Article of our Expence, as will appear from an Account taken at the Victualling-Office on the Ninth of *August*, 1712. And the Payment of the Interest was less a Burthen upon the Navy, by the Stores being bought at so cheap a Rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther Particulars upon this Head, but of smaller Moment. What I have above related, may serve to shew in how ill a Con-

dition the Kingdom stood, with relation to its Debts, by the Corruption as well as Negligence of former Management; and what prudent, effectual Measures have since been taken to provide for old Incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the Information of the Reader, perhaps already tired with a Subject so little entertaining as that of Accounts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal Matters that passed in Parliament, during this Session.

UPON the Eighteenth of *January* the House of Lords sent down a Bill to the Commons, for fixing the Precedence of the *Hanover* Family, which probably had been forgot in the Acts for settling the Succession of the Crown. That of *Henry VIII.* which gives the Rank to Princes of the Blood, carries it no farther than to Nephews, Nieces, and Grand-Children of the Crown; by Virtue of which the Princess *Sophia* is a Princess of the Blood, as Niece to King *Charles I. of England*, and precedes accordingly; but this Priviledge doth not descend to her Son the Elector, or the Electoral Prince. To supply which Defect, and pay a Compliment to the presumptive Heirs of the Crown, this Bill, as appeareth by the Preamble, was recommended by her Majesty to the House of Lords; which the Commons, to shew their Zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the
Interest

Interest or Honour of that Illustrious Family, ordered to be read Thrice, and passed *Nemine Contradicente*, and returned to the Lords, without any Amendment, on the very Day it was sent down.

BUT the House seemed to have nothing more at Heart than a strict Inquiry into the State of the Nation, with respect to Foreign Alliances. Some Discourses had been published in Print, about the Beginning of the Session, boldly complaining of certain Articles in the Barrier-Treaty, concluded about three Years since by the Lord Viscount *Townsend*, between *Great Britain* and the *States General*; and shewing, in many Particulars, the unequal Conduct of these Powers in our Alliance, in furnishing their Quotas and Supplies. It was asserted by the same Writers. " That these Hardships, put upon *England*, had been countenanced and encouraged by a Party here at home, in order to preserve their Power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the War, as well as by her Majesty's General Abroad, upon account of his own peculiar Interest and Grandeur." These loud Accusations spreading themselves throughout the Kingdom, delivered in Facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the Minds of the People; and, by putting Arguments into

G 4

every

every Body's Mouth, had filled the Town and Country with Controversies, both in Writing and Discourse. The Point appeared to be of great Consequence, whether the War continued or not : For, in the former Case, it was necessary that the Allies should be brought to a more equal Regulation ; and that the States in particular, for whom her Majesty had done such great Things, should explain and correct those Articles in the Barrier Treaty which were prejudicial to *Britain* ; and, in either Case, it was fit the People should have at least the Satisfaction of knowing by whose Counsels, and for what Designs, they had been so hardly treated.

IN order to this great Inquiry, the Barrier-Treaty, with all other Treaties and Agreements entered into between her Majesty and her Allies, during the present War, for the raising and augmenting the Proportions for the Service thereof, were, by the Queen's Directions, laid before the House.

SEVERAL Resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different Times, upon the Deficiencies of the Allies in furnishing their Quotas, upon certain Articles in the Barrier Treaty, and upon the State of the War ; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged by Public Discourses in Print against the late Ministry, and the Conduct

Conduct of the Allies, was much less than the Truth. Upon these Resolutions (by one of which the Lord Viscount *Townsend*, who negotiated and signed the Barrier-Treaty, was declared an Enemy to the Queen and Kingdom), and upon some farther Directions to the Committee, a Representation was formed; and soon after the Commons in a Body presented it to the Queen, the Endeavours of the adverse Party not prevailing to have it recommitted.

THIS Representation (supposed to be the Work of Sir *Thomas Hanmer's* Pen) is written with much Energy and Spirit, and will be a very useful authentic Record, for the Assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the History of the present Times.

I DID intend, for Brevity sake, to have given the Reader only an Abstract of it; but, upon Trial, found myself unequal to such a Task, without injuring so excellent a Piece. And although I think historical Relations are but ill patched up with long Transcripts already printed, which, upon that Account, I have hitherto avoided; yet this being the Sum of all Debates and Resolutions of the House of Commons in that great Affair of the War, I conceived it could not be well omitted.

“ Most gracious Sovereign,
 “ WE your Majesty’s most dutiful and
 “ loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great*
 “ *Britain* in Parliament assembled, having
 “ nothing so much at Heart as to enable
 “ your Majesty to bring this long and ex-
 “ pensive War to an honourable and happy
 “ Conclusion, have taken it into our most
 “ serious Consideration, how the necessary
 “ Supplies to be provided by us may be
 “ best applied, and how the common
 “ Cause may in the most effectual Manner
 “ be carried on, by the united Force of
 “ the whole Confederacy; we have thought
 “ ourselves obliged, in Duty to your Ma-
 “ jesty, and in Discharge of the Trust re-
 “ posed in us, to inquire into the true State
 “ of the War, in all its Parts, we have ex-
 “ amined what Stipulations have been en-
 “ tered into between your Majesty and your
 “ Allies; and how far such Engagements
 “ have on each Side been made good. We
 “ have considered the different Interests
 “ which the Confederates have in the
 “ Success of this War, and the different
 “ Shares they have contributed to its Sup-
 “ port: we have with our utmost Care
 “ and Diligence endeavoured to discover
 “ the Nature, Extent, and Charge of it, to
 “ the End, that by comparing the Weight
 “ thereof with our own Strength, we might
 “ adapt the one to the other in such Mea-
 “ sure,

“ sure, as neither to continue your Ma-
 “ jesty’s Subjects under a heavier Burthen,
 “ than in Reason and Justice they ought to
 “ bear ; nor deceive your Majesty, your
 “ Allies, and Ourselves, by undertaking
 “ more than the Nation in its present Cir-
 “ cumstances is able to perform.

“ YOUR Majesty has been graciously
 “ pleased, upon our humble Applications,
 “ to order such Materials to be laid before
 “ us, as have furnished us with the neces-
 “ sary Information upon the Particulars we
 “ have inquired into ; and when we shall
 “ have laid before your Majesty our Ob-
 “ servations, and humble Advice upon
 “ this Subject, we promise to ourselves this
 “ happy Fruit from it, that if your Ma-
 “ jesty’s generous and good Purposes, for
 “ the procuring a safe and lasting Peace,
 “ should, through the Obstinacy of the
 “ Enemy, or by any other Means, be un-
 “ happily defeated, a true Knowledge ~~and~~
 “ and Understanding of the past Conduct
 “ of the War, will be the best Foundation
 “ for a more frugal and equal Manage-
 “ ment of it for the time to come.

“ IN order to take the more perfect
 “ View of what we proposed, and that we
 “ might be able to set the whole before
 “ your Majesty in a true Light, we have
 “ thought it necessary to go back to the
 “ Beginning of the War, and beg Leave
 “ to observe the Motives and Reasons,
 “ upon

“ upon which his late Majesty King *Wil-*
 “ *liam* first engaged in it. The Treaty of
 “ the Grand Alliance, explains those Rea-
 “ sons to be for the supporting the Preten-
 “ sions of his Imperial Majesty, then ac-
 “ tually engaged in a War with the *French*
 “ King, who had usurped the intire *Spanish*
 “ Monarchy for his Grandson the Duke of
 “ *Anjou*; and for the assisting the States
 “ General, who, by the Loss of their Bar-
 “ rier against *France*, were then in the
 “ same, or a more dangerous Condition,
 “ than if they were actually invaded. As
 “ these were the just and necessary Motives
 “ for undertaking this War, so the Ends
 “ proposed to be obtained by it, were e-
 “ qually wise and honourable; for as they
 “ are set forth in the eighth Article of the
 “ same Treaty, they appear to have been
 “ *the procuring an equitable and reasonable Sa-*
 “ *tisfaction to his Imperial Majesty, and suf-*
 “ *ficient Securities for the Dominions, Provin-*
 “ *ces, Navigation, and Commerce of the King*
 “ *of Great Britain, and the States General,*
 “ *and the making effectual Provision, that the*
 “ *two Kingdoms of France and Spain should*
 “ *never be united under the same Government;*
 “ and particularly, that the *French* should
 “ never get into the Possession of the *Spanish*
 “ West Indies, or be permitted to sail thi-
 “ ther, upon the Account of Traffick, or
 “ under any Pretence whatsoever; and
 “ lastly, the securing to the Subjects of the
 “ King

“ King of *Great Britain*, and the States
 “ General all the same Privileges, and
 “ Rights of Commerce, throughout the
 “ whole Dominions of *Spain*, as they en-
 “ joyed before the Death of *Charles* the Se-
 “ cond, King of *Spain*, by Virtue of any
 “ Treaty, Agreement, or Custom, or any
 “ other Way whatsoever. For the obtain-
 “ ing these Ends, the three confederated
 “ Powers engaged to assist one ano-
 “ ther with their whole Force, accord-
 “ ing to such Proportions as should be spe-
 “ cified in a particular Convention, after-
 “ wards to be made for that Purpose : We
 “ do not find that any such Convention was
 “ ever ratified ; but it appears, that there
 “ was an Agreement concluded, which, by
 “ common Consent, was understood to be
 “ binding upon each party respectively, and
 “ according to which the Proportions of
 “ *Great Britain* were from the Beginning
 “ regulated and founded. The Terms of
 “ that Agreement were, That for the Ser-
 “ vice at Land, his Imperial Majesty should
 “ furnish ninety thousand Men, the King
 “ of *Great Britain* forty thousand, and the
 “ States General one hundred and two
 “ thousand, of which there were forty-two
 “ thousand intended to supply their Garri-
 “ sons, and sixty thousand to act against
 “ the common Enemy in the field ; and
 “ with regard to the Operations of the War
 “ at Sea, they were agreed to be perform-
 “ ed

“ ed jointly by *Great Britain* and the States
 “ General, the Quota of Ships to be fur-
 “ nished for that Service being five Eighths
 “ on the Part of *Great Britain* and three
 “ Eighths on the Part of the States General.
 “ UPON this Foot, the War began in
 “ the Year 1702, at which time the whole
 “ yearly Expence of it to *England* amount-
 “ ed to three millions seven hundred and
 “ six thousand four hundred ninety-four
 “ Pounds ; a very great Charge, as it was
 “ then thought by your Majesty’s Subjects,
 “ after the short Interval of Ease they had
 “ enjoyed from the Burthen of the former
 “ War, but yet a very moderate Proportion,
 “ in Comparison with the Load which hath
 “ since been laid upon them : For it ap-
 “ pears, by Estimates given in to your
 “ Commons, that the Sums necessary to
 “ carry on the Service for this present
 “ Year, in the same Manner as it was per-
 “ formed the last Year, amount to more
 “ than six millions nine hundred and sixty
 “ thousand Pounds, besides Interest for
 “ the Public Debts, and the Deficien-
 “ cies accruing the last Year, which two
 “ Articles require one million one hundred
 “ and forty-three thousand Pounds more ;
 “ so that the whole Demands upon your
 “ Commons are arisen to more than eight
 “ Millions for the present annual Supply.
 “ We know your Majesty’s tender Regard
 “ for the Welfare of your People, will
 “ make

“ make it uneasy to you to hear of so great
 “ a Pressure as this upon them; and as we
 “ are assured, it will fully convince your
 “ Majesty of the Necessity of our present
 “ Inquiry; so we beg Leave to represent to
 “ you, from what Causes, and by what
 “ Steps, this immense Charge appears to
 “ have grown upon us.

“ THE Service at Sea, as it has been
 “ very large and extensive in itself, so it
 “ has been carried on, through the whole
 “ Course of the War, in a manner highly
 “ disadvantageous to your Majesty and
 “ your Kingdom: For the Necessity of
 “ Affairs requiring that great Fleets should
 “ be fitted out every Year, as well for the
 “ maintaining a Superiority in the *Mediterranean*,
 “ as for opposing any Force
 “ which the Enemy might prepare, either
 “ at *Dunkirk*, or in the Ports of *West France*,
 “ your Majesty's Example and Readiness
 “ in fitting out your Proportion of Ships,
 “ for all Parts of that Service, have been so
 “ far from prevailing with the States General
 “ to keep pace with you, that they
 “ have been deficient every Year to a great
 “ Degree, in Proportion to what your Majesty
 “ hath furnished; sometimes no less
 “ than two Thirds, and generally more
 “ than Half of their Quota: From hence
 “ your Majesty has been obliged, for the
 “ preventing Disappointments in the most
 “ pressing Service, to supply those Deficiencies

“ encies by additional Reinforcements of
 “ your own Ships ; nor hath the single In-
 “ crease of such a Charge been the only ill
 “ Consequence that attended it ; for by this
 “ Means the Debt of the Navy hath been
 “ enhanced, so that the Discounts arising
 “ upon the Credit of it have affected all o-
 “ ther Parts of the Service, from the same
 “ Cause. Your Majesty’s Ships of War
 “ have been forced in greater Numbers to
 “ continue in remote Seas, and at unsea-
 “ sonable Times of the Year, to the great
 “ Damage and Decay of the *British* Navy.
 “ This also hath been the Occasion that
 “ your Majesty hath been streightened in
 “ your Convoys for Trade ; your Coasts
 “ have been exposed, for Want of a suffi-
 “ cient Number of Cruizers to guard them ;
 “ and you have been disabled from annoy-
 “ ing the Enemy, in their most beneficial
 “ Commerce with the *West Indies*, from
 “ whence they received those vast Supplies
 “ of Treasure, without which they could
 “ not have supported the Expences of this
 “ War.

“ THAT Part of the War which hath
 “ been carried on in *Flanders*, was at first
 “ immediately necessary to the Security of
 “ the States-General, and hath since brought
 “ them great Acquisitions, both of Reve-
 “ nue and Dominion ; yet even there the
 “ original proportions have been departed
 “ from, and, during the Course of the
 “ War,

“ War, have been sinking by Degrees on
 “ the Part of *Holland*; so that in this last
 “ Year, we find the Number in which they
 “ fell short of their three Fifths, to your
 “ Majesty’s two Fifths, have been twenty
 “ thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven
 “ Men: We are not unmindful, that in
 “ the Year 1703, a Treaty was made be-
 “ tween the two Nations, for a joint Aug-
 “ mentation of twenty thousand Men,
 “ wherein the Proportions were varied,
 “ and *England* consented to take Half upon
 “ itself. But it having been annexed as
 “ an exprefs Condition to the Grant of the
 “ said Augmentation in Parliament, that
 “ the States General should prohibit all
 “ Trade and Commerce with *France*, and
 “ that Condition having not been perform-
 “ ed by them, the Commons think it rea-
 “ sonable, that the first Rule of three to
 “ two ought to have taken Place again, as
 “ well in that as in other subsequent Aug-
 “ mentations, more especially when they
 “ consider, that the Revenues of those rich
 “ Provinces which have been conquered,
 “ would, if they were duly applied, main-
 “ tain a great Number of new additional
 “ Forces against the common Enemy;
 “ notwithstanding which, the States Ge-
 “ neral have raised none upon that Ac-
 “ count, but make use of those fresh Sup-
 “ plies of Money, only to ease themselves
 “ in

“ in the Charge of their first established
 “ Quota.

“ As in the Progress of the War in *Flanders*, a Disproportionation was soon created
 “ to the Prejudice of *England*; so the very
 “ Beginning of the War in *Portugal*, brought
 “ an unequal Share of Burden upon us;
 “ for although the Emperor and the States
 “ General were equally Parties with your
 “ Majesty in the Treaty with the King of
 “ *Portugal*, yet the Emperor neither furnishing
 “ his third Part of the Troops and
 “ Subsidies stipulated for, nor the *Dutch*
 “ consenting to take an equal Share of his
 “ Imperial Majesty's Defect upon themselves,
 “ your Majesty hath been obliged to
 “ furnish two Thirds of the entire Expence
 “ created by that Service. Nor has
 “ the Inequality stopped there; for ever
 “ since the Year 1706, when the *English*
 “ and *Dutch* Forces marched out of *Portugal*
 “ into *Castile*, the States General have
 “ intirely abandoned the War in *Portugal*,
 “ and left your Majesty to prosecute it
 “ singly at your own Charge, which you
 “ have accordingly done, by replacing a
 “ greater Number of Troops there, than
 “ even at first you took upon you to provide.
 “ At the same Time your Majesty's
 “ generous Endeavours for the Support
 “ and Defence of the King of *Portugal*,
 “ have been but ill seconded by that Prince
 “ himself; for notwithstanding that by his
 “ Treaty

" Treaty he had obliged himself to furnish
 " twelve thousand Foot, and three thou-
 " sand Horse, upon his own Account, be-
 " sides eleven thousand Foot, and two
 " thousand Horse more, in Consideration
 " of a Subsidy paid him ; yet, according
 " to the best Information your Commons
 " can procure, it appears, that he hath
 " scarce at any Time furnished thirteen
 " thousand Men in the Whole.

" IN *Spain* the War hath been yet more
 " unequal, and burthensome to your Ma-
 " jesty, than in any other Branch of it ; for
 " being commenced without any Treaty
 " whatsoever, the Allies have almost wholly
 " declined taking any Part of it upon them-
 " selves. A small Body of *English* and *Dutch*
 " Troops were sent thither in the Year
 " 1705, not as being thought sufficient to
 " support a regular War, or to make the
 " Conquest of so large a Country ; but
 " with a View only of assisting the *Spaniards*
 " to set King *Charles* upon the Throne ;
 " occasioned by the great Assurances which
 " were given of their Inclinations to the
 " House of *Austria* : But this Expectation
 " failing, *England* was insensibly drawn
 " into an established War, under all the
 " Disadvantages of the Distance of the
 " Place, and the feeble Efforts of the other
 " Allies. The Account we have to lay
 " before your Majesty, upon this Head,
 " is, that although the Undertaking was
 " entered

“ entered upon at the particular and ear-
 “ nest Request of the Imperial Court, and
 “ for a Cause of no less Importance and
 “ Concern to them, than the reducing the
 “ *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of
 “ *Austria* ; yet neither the late Emperors,
 “ nor his present Imperial Majesty, have
 “ ever had any Forces there on their Ac-
 “ count, till the last Year ; and then, only
 “ one Regiment of Foot, consisting of
 “ two thousand Men. Though the States
 “ General have contributed something
 “ more to this Service, yet their Share
 “ also hath been inconsiderable ; for in the
 “ Space of four Years, from 1705, to
 “ 1708, both inclusive, all the Forces they
 “ have sent into that Country have not
 “ exceeded twelve thousand two hundred
 “ Men ; and from the Year 1708 to this
 “ Time, they have not sent any Forces or
 “ Recruits whatsoever. To your Majesty’s
 “ Care and Charge, the Recovery of that
 “ Kingdom hath been in a manner wholly
 “ left, as if none else were interested or
 “ concerned in it. And the Forces which
 “ your Majesty hath sent into *Spain*, in the
 “ Space of seven Years, from 1705, to
 “ 1711, both inclusive, have amounted
 “ to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine
 “ hundred and seventy-three Men, besides
 “ thirteen Battalions and eight Squadrons,
 “ for which your Majesty hath paid a Sub-
 “ sidy to the Emperor.

“ How

“ How great the established Expence
 “ of a Number of Men hath been, your
 “ Majesty very well knows, and your Com-
 “ mons very sensibly feel ; but the Weight
 “ will be found much greater, when it is
 “ considered how many heavy Articles of
 “ unusual and extraordinary Charge have
 “ attended this remote and difficult Ser-
 “ vice, all which have been entirely de-
 “ frayed by your Majesty, except that one
 “ of transporting the few Forces, which
 “ were sent by the States General, and the
 “ victualling of them, during their Trans-
 “ portation only. The Accounts delivered
 “ to your Commons shew, that the Charge
 “ of your Majesty’s Ships and Vessels, em-
 “ ployed in the Service of the War in
 “ *Spain* and *Portugal*, reckoned after the
 “ Rate of four Pounds a Man *per* Month,
 “ from the Time they sailed from hence,
 “ till they returned, were lost, or put upon
 “ other Services, hath amounted to six
 “ Millions five hundred forty thousand nine
 “ hundred and sixty-six Pounds fourteen
 “ Shillings : The Charge of Transports on
 “ the Part of *Great Britain*, for carrying
 “ on the War in *Spain* and *Portugal*, from
 “ the Beginning of it till this Time, hath
 “ amounted to one Million three hundred
 “ thirty six thousand seven hundred and
 “ nineteen Pounds nineteen Shillings and
 “ eleven Pence ; that of victualling Land-
 “ Forces for the same Service, to five hun-
 “ dred

“dred eighty-three thousand seven hun-
 “dred and seventy Pounds eight Shillings
 “and six Pence ; and that of Contingen-
 “cies, and other Extraordinaries for the
 “same Service, to one Million eight hun-
 “dred forty thousand three hundred and
 “fifty-three Pounds.

“WE should take Notice to your Ma-
 “jesty of several Sums paid upon Account
 “of Contingencies, and Extraordinaries
 “in *Flanders*, making together the Sum of
 “one Million one hundred seven thousand
 “and ninety-six Pounds : But we are not
 “able to make any Comparison of them,
 “with what the States General have ex-
 “pended upon the same Head, having no
 “such State of their extraordinary Charge
 “before us. There remains therefore
 “but one Particular more for your Ma-
 “jesty's Observation, which arises from
 “the Subsidies paid to foreign Princes.
 “These, at the Beginning of the War,
 “were borne in equal Proportion by your
 “Majesty, and the States General ; but in
 “this Instance also, the Balance hath been
 “cast in Prejudice of your Majesty : For
 “it appears, that your Majesty hath since
 “advanced more than your equal Propor-
 “tion, three Millions one hundred and
 “fifty-five thousand Crowns, besides Ex-
 “traordinaries paid in *Italy*, and not in-
 “cluded in any of the foregoing Articles,
 “which arise to five hundred thirty-nine
 “thousand

“ thousand five hundred and fifty-three
 “ Pounds.

“ WE have laid these several Particu-
 “ lars before your Majesty in the shortest
 “ manner we have been able ; and by an
 “ Estimate grounded on the preceding
 “ Facts, it doth appear, that over and above
 “ the Quotas on the Part of *Great Britain*,
 “ answering to those contributed by your
 “ Allies, more than nineteen Millions have
 “ been expended by your Majesty, during
 “ the Course of this War, by way of Sur-
 “ plusage, or exceeding in Balance, of
 “ which none of the Confederates have fur-
 “ nished any thing whatsoever.

“ IT is with very great Concern, that
 “ we find so much Occasion given us, to
 “ represent how ill an Use hath been made
 “ of your Majesty’s and your Subjects Zeal
 “ for the Common Cause ; that the Interest
 “ of that Cause hath not been propor-
 “ tionably promoted by it, but others only
 “ have been eased at your Majesty’s and
 “ your Subjects Cost, and have been con-
 “ nived at, in laying their Part of the
 “ Burthen upon this Kingdom, although
 “ they have upon all Accounts been equally,
 “ and in most Respects, much more near-
 “ ly concerned than *Britain* in the Issue of
 “ the War. We are persuaded your Ma-
 “ jesty will think it pardonable in us, with
 “ some Resentment to complain of the lit-
 “ tle Regard, which some of those, whom
 “ your

“ your Majesty of late Years intrusted,
 “ have shewn to the Interests of their
 “ Country, in giving Way, at least, to such
 “ unreasonable Impositions upon it, if not
 “ in some Measure contriving them. The
 “ Course of which Impositions hath been
 “ so singular and extraordinary, that the
 “ more the Wealth of this Nation hath been
 “ exhausted, and the more your Majesty’s
 “ Arms have been attended with Success,
 “ the heavier hath been the Burthen laid
 “ upon us ; whilst on the other Hand, the
 “ more vigorous your Majesty’s Efforts
 “ have been, and the greater the Advan-
 “ tages which have redounded thence to
 “ your Allies, the more those Allies have
 “ abated in their Share of the Expence.

“ At the first Entrance into this War,
 “ the Commons were induced to exert
 “ themselves in the extraordinary Manner
 “ they did, and to grant such large Sup-
 “ plies, as had been unknown to former
 “ Ages, in hopes thereby to prevent the
 “ Mischiefs of a lingering War, and to bring
 “ that, in which they were necessarily en-
 “ gaged, to a speedy Conclusion ; but they
 “ have been very unhappy in the Event,
 “ whilst they have so much Reason to sus-
 “ pect, that what was intended to shorten
 “ the War, hath proved the very Cause
 “ of its long Continuance ; for those, to
 “ whom the Profits of it have accrued,
 “ have not been disposed easily to forego
 “ them.

“ them. And your Majesty will from thence
 “ discern *the true Reason, why so many have*
 “ *delighted in a War, which brought in so*
 “ *rich an Harvest yearly from Great Britain.*

“ WE are far from desiring, as we know
 “ your Majesty will be from concluding
 “ any Peace, but upon safe and honourable
 “ Terms; and we are far from intending
 “ to excuse ourselves from raising all neces-
 “ sary and possible Supplies, for an effectual
 “ Prosecution of the War, till such a
 “ Peace can be obtained: All that your
 “ faithful Commons aim at, all that they
 “ wish, is an equal Concurrence from the
 “ other Powers, engaged in Alliance with
 “ your Majesty; and a just Application of
 “ what hath been already gained from the
 “ Enemy, towards promoting the Common
 “ Cause. Several large Countries and Terri-
 “ tories have been restored to the House of
 “ *Austria*, such as the Kingdom of *Naples*,
 “ the Dutchy of *Milan*, and other Places in
 “ *Italy*; others have been conquered, and
 “ added to their Dominions, as the two
 “ Electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, the
 “ Dutchy of *Mantua*, and the Bishoprick
 “ of *Liege*; these having been reduced in
 “ great measure by our Blood and Trea-
 “ sure, may, we humbly conceive, with
 “ great Reason, be claimed to come in Aid
 “ towards carrying on the War in *Spain*.
 “ And therefore we make it our earnest
 “ Request to your Majesty, that you will

H

“ give

“ give Instructions to your Ministers, to
 “ insist with the Emperor, that the Reve-
 “ nues of those several Places, excepting
 “ only such a Portion thereof as is necessary
 “ for their Defence, be actually so applied:
 “ And as to the other Parts of the War, to
 “ which your Majesty hath obliged yourself
 “ by particular Treaties to contribute,
 “ we humbly beseech your Majesty, that
 “ you will be pleased to take effectual Care,
 “ that your Allies do perform their Parts
 “ stipulated by those Treaties; and that
 “ your Majesty will, for the future, no
 “ otherwise furnish Troops, or pay Sub-
 “ sidies, than in Proportion to what your
 “ Allies shall actually furnish and pay:
 “ When this Justice is done to your Majesty,
 “ and to your People, there is nothing
 “ which your Commons will not chearful-
 “ ly grant, towards supporting your Ma-
 “ jesty in the Cause in which you are en-
 “ gaged. And whatever farther shall ap-
 “ pear to be necessary for carrying on the
 “ War, either at Sea or Land, we will ef-
 “ fectually enable your Majesty to bear
 “ your reasonable Share of any such Expence,
 “ and will spare no Supplies which your
 “ Subjects are able, with their utmost Ef-
 “ forts to afford.

“ A F T E R having enquired into, and
 “ considered the State of the War, in which
 “ the Part your Majesty has borne, appears
 “ to have been, not only superior to that
 “ of any one Ally, but even equal to that

“ of the whole Confederacy ; your Com-
 “ mons naturally inclined to hope, that
 “ they should find Care had been taken of
 “ securing some particular Advantages to
 “ *Britain*, in the Terms of a future Peace ;
 “ such as might afford a Prospect of mak-
 “ ing the Nation amends, in Time, for
 “ that immense Treasure which has been
 “ expended, and those heavy Debts which
 “ have been contracted, in the Course of
 “ so long and burthensome a War. This
 “ reasonable Expectation could no way have
 “ been better answered, than by some Pro-
 “ vision made for the further Security, and
 “ the great Improvement of the Commerce
 “ of *Great Britain* ; but we find ourselves
 “ so very far disappointed in these Hopes,
 “ that in a Treaty not long since concluded
 “ between your Majesty and the States
 “ General, under a Colour of Mutual Guar-
 “ antee, given for two Points of the great-
 “ est Importance to both Nations, the Suc-
 “ cession, and the Barrier ; it appears, the
 “ Interest of *Great Britain* hath been not
 “ only neglected, but sacrificed ; and that
 “ several Articles in the said Treaty, are
 “ destructive to the Trade and Welfare of
 “ this Kingdom, and therefore highly disho-
 “ nourable to your Majesty.

“ YOUR Commons observe, in the first
 “ Place, that several Towns and Places are,
 “ by Virtue of this Treaty, to be put into
 “ the Hands of the States General, parti-

“ cularly *Newport, Dendermond, and the*
 “ *Castle of Ghent*, which can in no Sense be
 “ looked upon as a Part of a Barrier against
 “ *France*, but being the Keys of the *Ne-*
 “ *therlands* towards *Britain*, must make the
 “ Trade of your Majesty’s Subjects in those
 “ Parts precarious, and whenever the States
 “ think fit, totally exclude them from it.
 “ The pretended Necessity of putting these
 “ Places into the Hands of the States Gene-
 “ ral, in order to secure to them a Commu-
 “ nication with their Barrier, must appear
 “ vain and groundless ; for the Sovereignty
 “ of the *Low Countries* being not to remain
 “ to an Enemy, but to a Friend and an
 “ Ally, that Communication must be al-
 “ ways secure and uninterrupted ; besides
 “ that, in case of a Rupture, or an Attack,
 “ the States have full Liberty allowed them
 “ to take Possession of all the *Spanish Ne-*
 “ *therlands*, and therefore needed no parti-
 “ cular Stipulation for the Towns above-
 “ mentioned.

“ H A V I N G taken Notice of this Con-
 “ cession made to the States General, for
 “ seizing upon the whole ten Provinces ;
 “ we cannot but observe to your Majesty
 “ that in the manner this Article is framed,
 “ it is another dangerous Circumstance
 “ which attends this Treaty ; for had such
 “ a Provision been confined to the Care of
 “ an apparent Attack from *France* only, the
 “ avowed Design of this Treaty had been
 “ fulfilled,

“ fulfilled, and your Majesty’s Instructions
 “ to your Ambassador had been pursued :
 “ But this necessary Restriction hath been
 “ omitted, and the same Liberty is granted
 “ to the States, to take Possession of all the
 “ *Netherlands*, whenever they shall think
 “ themselves attacked by any other neigh-
 “ bouring Nation, as when they shall be
 “ in Danger from *France* ; so that if it
 “ should at any Time happen (which your
 “ Commons are very unwilling to suppose)
 “ that they should quarrel, even with your
 “ Majesty, the Riches, Strength, and ad-
 “ vantageous Situation of these Countries,
 “ may be made use of against yourself, with-
 “ out whose generous and powerful Assis-
 “ tance they had never been conquered.

“ To return to those ill Consequences
 “ which relate to the Trade of your King-
 “ doms, we beg Leave to observe to your
 “ Majesty, that though this Treaty revives,
 “ and renders your Majesty a Party to the
 “ fourteenth and fifteenth Articles of the
 “ Treaty of *Munster*, by Virtue of which,
 “ the Impositions upon all Goods and Mer-
 “ chandizes brought into the *Spanish* Low
 “ Countries by the Sea, are to equal those
 “ laid on Goods and Merchandizes im-
 “ ported by the *Scheld*, and the Canals of
 “ *Sass* and *Swynn*, and other Mouths of
 “ the Sea adjoining ; yet no care is taken
 “ to preserve that Equality upon the Ex-
 “ portation of those Goods out of the *Spa-*

“ *nish* Provinces, into those Countries and
 “ Places, which, by Virtue of this Treaty,
 “ are to be in Possession of the States; the
 “ Consequence of which must in Time
 “ be, and your Commons are informed,
 “ that in some Instances it has already prov-
 “ ed to be the Case, that the Impositions
 “ upon Goods carried into those Countries
 “ and Places, by the Subjects of the States
 “ General, will be taken off, while those
 “ upon the Goods imported by your Ma-
 “ jesty’s Subjects remain: By which means,
 “ *Great Britain* will entirely lose this most
 “ beneficial Branch of Trade, which it has
 “ in all Ages been possessed of, even from
 “ the Time when those Countries were go-
 “ verned by the House of *Burgundy*, one
 “ of the most antient, as well as the most
 “ useful Allies to the Crown of *England*.

“ W I T H regard to the other Dominions
 “ and Territories of *Spain*, your Majes-
 “ ty’s Subjects have always been distinguish-
 “ ed in their Commerce with them, and
 “ both by ancient Treaties, and an unin-
 “ terrupted Custom, have enjoyed greater
 “ Privileges and Immunities of Trade, than
 “ either the *Hollanders*, or any other Na-
 “ tion whatsoever. And that wise and ex-
 “ cellent Treaty of the Grand Alliance,
 “ provides effectually for the Security and
 “ Continuance of these valuable Privileges
 “ to *Britain*, in such a manner, as that
 “ each Nation might be left, at the End
 “ of

“ of the War, upon the same Foot as it
 “ stood at the Commencement of it: But
 “ this Treaty we now complain of, instead
 “ of confirming your Subjects Rights, sur-
 “ renders and destroys them; for although
 “ by the sixteenth and seventeenth Arti-
 “ cles of the Treaty of *Munster*, made be-
 “ tween his Catholick Majesty and the States
 “ General, all Advantages of Trade are
 “ stipulated for, and granted to the *Hol-*
 “ *landers*, equal to what the *English* en-
 “ joyed; yet the Crown of *England* not be-
 “ ing a Party to that Treaty, the Subjects
 “ of *England* have never submitted to those
 “ Articles of it, nor even the *Spaniards*
 “ themselves ever observed them; but this
 “ Treaty revives those Articles in Prejudice
 “ of *Great Britain*, and makes your Majes-
 “ ty a Party to them, and even a Guarantee
 “ to the States General, for Privileges against
 “ your own People.

“ IN how deliberate and extraordinary
 “ a manner your Majesty’s Ambassador
 “ consented to deprive your Subjects of
 “ their ancient Rights, and your Majesty
 “ of the Power of procuring to them any
 “ new Advantage, most evidently appears
 “ from his own Letters, which, by your
 “ Majesty’s Directions, have been laid be-
 “ fore your Commons: For when Matters
 “ of Advantage to your Majesty, and to
 “ your Kingdom, had been offered, as
 “ proper to be made Parts of this Treaty,
 “ Hi 4 “ they

“ they were refused to be admitted by the
 “ States General, upon this Reason and
 “ Principle, that nothing foreign to the
 “ Guaranties of the Succession, and of the
 “ Barrier, should be mingled with them ;
 “ notwithstanding which, the States Ge-
 “ neral had no sooner received Notice of
 “ a Treaty of Commerce concluded be-
 “ tween your Majesty and the present Em-
 “ peror, but they departed from the Rule
 “ proposed before, and insisted upon the
 “ Article of which your Commons now
 “ complain ; which Article your Majesty’s
 “ Ambassador allowed of, although equally
 “ foreign to the Succession, or the Barrier ;
 “ and although he had for that Reason de-
 “ parted from other Articles, which would
 “ have been for the Service of his own
 “ Country.

“ WE have forborne to trouble your
 “ Majesty with general Observations upon
 “ this Treaty, as it relates to and affects
 “ the Empire, and other Parts of *Europe*.
 “ The Mischiefs which arise from it to
 “ *Great Britain*, are what only we have
 “ presumed humbly to represent to you,
 “ as they are very evident, and very great :
 “ And, as it appears, that the Lord Vis-
 “ count *Townsend* had not any Orders, or
 “ Authority, for concluding several of
 “ those Articles, which are most prejudi-
 “ cial to your Majesty’s Subjects ; we have
 “ thought we could do no less than de-
 “ clare

“ clare your said Ambassador, who nego-
 “ ciated and signed, and all others who
 “ advised the ratifying of this Treaty,
 “ Enemies to your Majesty and your King-
 “ dom.

“ UPON these faithful Informations,
 “ and Advices from your Commons, we
 “ assure ourselves your Majesty, in your
 “ great Goodness to your People, will res-
 “ cue them from those Evils, which the
 “ private Councils of ill designing Men
 “ have exposed them to ; and that in your
 “ great Wisdom you will find some Means
 “ for the Explaining and Amending, the se-
 “ veral Articles of this Treaty, so as that they
 “ may consist with the Interest of *Great*
 “ *Britain*, and with real and lasting Friend-
 “ ship between your Majesty and the States
 “ General.”

BETWEEN the Representation and the
 first Debates upon the Subject of it, seve-
 ral Weeks had passed ; during which Time
 the Parliament had other Matters likewise
 before them, that deserve to be mentioned.
 For on the ninth of *February* was repealed
 the Act for Naturalizing Foreign Pro-
 testants, which had been passed under the
 last Ministry, and, as many People thought,
 to very ill Purposes. By this Act any
 Foreigner, who would take the Oaths to
 the Government, and profess himself a Pro-
 testant, of whatever Denomination, was

immediately naturalized, and had all the Privileges of an *English*-born Subject, at the Expence of a Shilling. Most Protestants abroad differ from us in the Points of Church-Government; so that all the Acquisitions by this Act would increase the Number of Dissenters; and therefore the Proposal, that such Foreigners should be obliged to conform to the Established Worship, was rejected. But because several Persons were fond of this Project, as a thing that would be of mighty Advantage to the Kingdom, I shall say a few Words upon it.

THE Maxim, "That People are the Riches of a Nation," hath been crudely understood by many Writers and Reasoners upon that Subject. There are several Ways by which People are brought into a Country. Sometimes a Nation is invaded and subdued; and the Conquerors seize the Lands, and make the Natives their Under-Tenants or Servants. Colonies have been always planted where the Natives were driven out or destroyed, or the Land uncultivated and waste. In those Countries where the Lord of the Soil is Master of the Labour and Liberty of his Tenants, or of Slaves bought by his Money, Men's Riches are reckoned by the Number of their Vassals. And sometimes, in Governments newly instituted, where there are not People to till the Ground,

many

many Laws have been made to encourage and allure Numbers from the Neighbouring Countries. And, in all these Cases, the new Comers have either Lands allotted them, or are Slaves to the Proprietors. But to invite helpless Families, by Thousands, into a Kingdom inhabited like ours, without Lands to give them, and where the Laws will not allow that they should be Part of the Property as Servants, is a wrong Application of the Maxim, and the same Thing, in great, as Infants dropped at the Doors, which are only a Burthen and Charge to the Parish. The true Way of multiplying Mankind to Public Advantage, in such a Country as *England*, is to invite from abroad only able Handicraftsmen and Artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient Share of Property to secure them from Want ; to enact and enforce sumptuary Laws against Luxury, and all Excesses in Cloathing, Furniture, and the like ; to encourage Matrimony, and reward, as the *Romans* did, those who have a certain Number of Children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere Consequence of this Law for a general Naturalization ; or whether, as many surmised, it had some other Meaning, it appeared manifestly, by the Issue, that the Public was a Loser by every Individual among them ; and that a Kingdom can no more be the richer by such an Importation, than a Man can be fatter

fatter by a Wen, which is unsightly and troublesome, at best, and intercepts that Nourishment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole Body.

ABOUT a Fortnight after, the Commons sent up a Bill for securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Members in that House, who should be allowed to possess Employments under the Crown. Bills to the same Effect, promoted by both Parties, had, after making the like Progress, been rejected in former Parliaments; the Court and Ministry, who will ever be against such a Law, having usually a greater Influence in the House of Lords, and so it happened now. Although that Influence were less, I am apt to think that such a Law would be too thorough a Reformation in one Point, while we have so many Corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the Regulations, already made on that Article, are sufficient, by which several Employments incapacitate a Man from being chosen a Member, and all of them bring it to a new Election.

FOR my own Part, when I consider the Temper of particular Persons, and by what Maxims they have acted (almost without Exception) in their private Capacities, I cannot conceive how such a Bill should obtain a Majority, unless every Man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the Limitation intended.

ABOUT

ABOUT the same time, likewise, the House of Commons advanced one considerable Step towards securing us against farther Impositions from our Allies, resolving that the additional Forces should be continued ; but with a Condition, that the *Dutch* should make good their Proportion of three Fifths to two Fifths, which those Confederates had so long, and in so great Degree, neglected. The Duke of *Marlborough's* Deduction of Two and a Half *per Cent.* from the Pay of the Foreign Troops, was also applied for carrying on the War.

LASTLY, within this Period is to be included the Act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the Episcopal Communion in *Scotland* in the Exercise of their Religious Worship, and in the Use of the Liturgy of the Church of *England*. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the Nobility and Gentry there, as well as great Numbers of the People, dread the tyrannical Discipline of those Synods and Presbyteries ; and at the same Time have the utmost Contempt for the Abilities and Tenets of their Teachers. It was besides thought an Inequality, beyond all Appearance of Reason or Justice, that Dissenters of every Denomination here, who are the meanest and most illiterate Part amongst us, should possess a Toleration by Law, under Colour of which they might, upon Occasion, be bold enough to insult the Religion

gion established, while those of the Episcopal Church in *Scotland* groaned under a real Persecution. The only specious Objection against this Bill was, that it set the Religion by Law, in both Parts of the Island, upon a different Foot, directly contrary to the Union ; because, by an Act passed this very Session against Occasional Conformity, our Dissenters were shut out from all Employments. A Petition from *Carstairs*, and other *Scotch* Professors, against this Bill, was offered to the House, but not accepted ; and a Motion made by the other Party, to receive a Clause that should restrain all Persons, who have any Office in *Scotland*, from going to Episcopal Meetings, passed in the Negative. It is manifest, that the Promoters of this Clause were not moved by any Regard for *Scotland*, which is by no Means their Favourite at present ; only they hoped, that, if it were made Part of a Law, it might occasion such a Choice of Representatives in both Houses, from *Scotland*, as would be a considerable Strength to their Faction here. But the Proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many Lords, and other Persons of Distinction, who have great Employments, Pensions, Posts in the Army, and other Places of Profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant Attendance at Court, and utterly dislike their national Way of Worship, should be deprived of their Liberty of Conscience at Home ;
not

not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take care of the Revenue, and other Affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their Religion for that of *Scotland*.

WITH a farther View of Favour towards the Episcopal Clergy of *Scotland*, three Members of that Country were directed to bring in a Bill for restoring the Patrons to their ancient Rights of presenting Ministers to the vacant Churches there, which the Kirk, during the Height of their Power, had obtained for themselves. And, to conclude this Subject at once, the Queen at the Close of the Session, commanded Mr. Secretary *St John* to acquaint the House, " That, pursuant to their Address, the Profits
 " arising from the Bishops Estates in *Scotland*, which remained in the Crown,
 " should be applied to the Support of such
 " of the Episcopal Clergy there, as would
 " take the Oaths to her Majesty."

NOTHING could more amply justify the Proceedings of the Queen and her Ministers, for two Years past, than that famous Representation above at large recited; the unbiassed Wisdom of the Nation, after the strictest Inquiry, confirming those Facts upon which her Majesty's Counsels were grounded: and many Persons, who were before inclined to believe, that the Allies and the late Ministry had been too much loaded by the Malice, Misrepresentations, or
 Ignorance,

Ignorance of Writers, were now fully convinced of their Mistake by so great an Authority. Upon this Occasion I cannot forbear doing Justice to Mr. *St. John*, who had been Secretary of War, for several Years, under the former Administration, where he had the Advantage of observing how Affairs were managed both at Home and Abroad. He was one of those who shared in the present Treasurer's Fortune, resigning his Employment at the same Time; and upon that Minister's being again taken into Favour, this Gentleman was some time after made Secretary of State. There he began afresh, by the Opportunities of his Station, to look into past Miscarriages; and, by the Force of an extraordinary Genius, and Application to Public Affairs, joined with an invincible Eloquence, laid open the Scene of Miscarriages and Corruptions through the whole Course of the War, in so evident a Manner, that the House of Commons seemed principally directed in their Resolutions, upon this Inquiry, by his Information and Advice. In a short time after the Representation was published, there appeared a Memorial in the *Dutch Gazette*, as by Order of the States, reflecting very much upon the said Representation, as well as the Resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some of the Facts, and to extenuate others. This Memorial, translated into *English*, a common
 Writer

Writer of News had the Boldness to insert in one of his Papers. A Complaint being made thereof to the House of Commons, they voted the pretended Memorial to be a false, scandalous, malicious Libel, and ordered the Printer to be taken into Custody.

It was the Misfortune of the Ministers, that while they were baited by their professed Adversaries of the discontented Faction, acting in Confederacy with Emissaries of Foreign Powers, to break the Measures her Majesty had taken towards a Peace, they met at the same time with frequent Difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general End; but sometimes disapproved the Methods as too slack and remiss, or, in Appearance, now and then perhaps a little dubious. In the first Session of this Parliament, a considerable Number of Gentlemen, all Members of the House of Commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what Course they ought to steer in this new World. They intended to revive a new Country-Party in Parliament, which might, as in former Times, oppose the Court in any Proceedings they disliked. The whole Body was of such who profess what is commonly called High-Church Principles, upon which Account they were irreconcilable Enemies to the late Ministry and all its Adherents. On the other Side, considering the Temper of the new Men in Power, that they

they were Persons who had formerly moved between the two Extremes, those Gentlemen, who were impatient for an intire Change, and to see all their Adversaries laid at once as low as the Dust, began to be apprehensive that the Work would be done by Halves. But the Juncture of Affairs at that Time, both at Home and Abroad, would by no Means admit of the least Precipitation, although the Queen and her first Minister had been disposed to it, which certainly they were not. Neither did the Court seem at all uneasy at this League, formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest Gentlemen who wished well to their Country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the Means; or if such a Society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their Endeavours ineffectual.

BUT in the Course of that first Session, many of this Society became gradually reconciled to the new Ministry, whom they found to be greater Objects of the common Enemy's Hatred than themselves; and the Attempt of *Guiscard*, as it gained farther Time for the deferring the Disposal of Employments, so it much endeared that Person to the Kingdom, who was so near falling a Sacrifice to the Safety of his Country. Upon the last Session of which I am now writing, this *October Club* (as it was called) re-
newed

newed their usual Meetings, but were now very much altered from their original Institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the Design, as of no further Use. They saw a Point carried in the House of Lords against the Court, that would end in the Ruin of the Kingdom; and they observed the Enemy's whole Artillery directly levelled at the Treasurer's Head. In short, the Majority of the Club had so good an Understanding with the great Men at Court, that two of the Latter, to shew to the World how fair a Correspondence there was between the Court and Country-Party, consented to be at one of their Dinners; but this Intercourse had an Event very different from what was expected: for immediately the more zealous Members of that Society broke off from the rest, and composed a new one, made up of Gentlemen, who seemed to expect little of the Court; and perhaps, with a Mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed. Many of these were observed to retain an incurable Jealousy of the Treasurer, and to interpret all Delays, which they could not comprehend, as a Reserve of Favour in this Minister to the Persons and Principles of the abandoned Party.

UPON an Occasion offered about this Time, some Persons, out of Distrust to the Treasurer, endeavoured to obtain a Point, which could not have been carried without
 putting

putting all into Confusion. A Bill was brought into the House of Commons, appointing Commissioners to examine into the Value of all Lands, and other Interests granted by the Crown since the Thirteenth Day of *February*, 1688, and upon what Considerations such Grants had been made. The united Country-Interest in the House was extremely set upon passing this Bill. They had conceived an Opinion from former Precedents, that the Court would certainly oppose all Steps towards a Resumption of Grants; and those who were apprehensive that the Treasurer inclined the same Way, proposed the Bill should be tacked to another, for raising a Fund by Duties upon Soap and Paper, which hath been always imputed, whether justly or no, as a favourite Expedient of those called the Tory Party. At the same time it was very well known, that the House of Lords had made a fixed and unanimous Resolution against giving their Concurrence to the passing such united Bills: so that the Consequences of this Project must have been to bring the Ministry under Difficulties, to stop the necessary Supplies, and endanger the good Correspondence between both Houses; notwithstanding all which the Majority carried it for a Tack; and the Committee was instructed accordingly to make the two Bills into one, whereby the worst that could happen would have followed, if the Treasurer had

had not convinced the warm Leaders in this Affair, by undeniable Reasons, that the Means they were using would certainly disappoint the End; that neither himself, nor any other of the Queen's Servants, were at all against this Enquiry; and he promised his utmost Credit to help forward the Bill in the House of Lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single; but their Lordships gave it another Kind of Reception. Those who were of the Side opposite to the Court, withstood it to a Man, as in a Party-Case: among the rest, some very personally concerned, and others by Friends and Relations, which they supposed a sufficient Excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those, whose Grants were Antecedent to this intended Inspection, began to be alarmed as Men whose Neighbours Houses are on Fire. A Shew of Zeal for the late King's Honour, occasioned many Reflections upon the Date of this Enquiry, which was to Commence with his Reign: and the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had now flung away the Mask which he lately pulled off, like one who had no other View but that of Vengeance against the Queen and her Friends, acted consistently enough with his Design, by voting as a Lord against the Bill, after he had directed his Son in the House of Commons to vote for the Tack.

THUS miscarried this popular Bill for appointing Commissioners to examine into
 Royal

Royal Grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own Interest, hath been made a Question, which perhaps Time will resolve. It was agreed that the Queen, by her own Authority, might have issued out a Commission for such an Enquiry, and every Body believed, that the Intention of the Parliament was only to tax the Grants with about three Years purchase, and at the same Time establish the Proprietors in Possession of the Remainder for ever; so that, upon the Whole, the Grantees would have been great Gainers by such an Act, since the Titles of those Lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half Value with others either for Sale or Settlement. Besides, the Examples of the *Irish* Forfeitures might have taught these Precarious Owners, that when the House of Commons hath once engaged in a Pursuit, which they think is Right, although it be stopped or suspended for a while, they will be sure to renew it upon every Opportunity that offers, and seldom fail of Success: for Instance, if the Resumption should happen to be made Part of a Supply, which can be easily done without the Objection of a Tack, the Grantees might possibly then have much harder Conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of Royal Grants be consistent with good Policy or Justice, would be too long a Disquisition: besides, the Profusion of Kings

is not like to be a Grievance for the future, because there have been Laws since made to provide against that Evil, or, indeed, rather because the Crown has nothing left to give away. But the Objection made against the Date of the intended Enquiry was invidious and trifling; for King *James II.* made very few Grants: he was a better Manager, and squandering was none of his Faults; whereas the late King, who came over here a perfect Stranger to our Laws, and our People, Regardless of Posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no Way better strengthen a new Title, than by purchasing Friends at the Expence of every Thing which was in his Power to part with.

THE Reasonableness of uniting to a Money-Bill one of a different Nature, which is usually called Tacking, hath been likewise much debated, and will admit of Argument enough. In antient Times, when a Parliament was held, the Commons first proposed their Grievances to be redressed, and then gave their Aids; so that it was a perfect Bargain between the King and the Subject. This fully answered the Ends of Tacking. Aids were then demanded upon Occasions which would hardly pass at present; such, for Instance, as those for making the King's Son a Knight, marrying his eldest Daughter, and some others of the like Sort. Most of the Money went into
the

the King's Coffers for his private Use ; neither was he accountable for any Part of it. Hence arose the Form of the King's Thanking his Subjects for their Benevolence, when any Subsidies, Tenths or Fifteenths were given him : but the Supplies now granted are of another Nature, and cannot be properly called a particular Benefit to the Crown, because they are all appropriated to their several Uses : so that when the House of Commons tack to a Money-Bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their Country in as great Difficulties as the Prince. On the other Side, there have been several Regulations made through the Course of Time, in Parliamentary Proceedings ; among which it is grown a Rule, that a Bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same Session ; whereby the Commons seem to have lost the Advantage of purchasing a Redress of their Grievances, by granting Supplies, which, upon some Emergencies, hath put them upon this Expedient of Tacking : so that there is more to be said on each Side of the Case, than is convenient for me to trouble the Reader or myself in deducing.

A M O N G the Matters of Importance during this Session, we may justly number the Proceedings of the House of Commons with Relation to the Press, since her Majesty's Message to the House, of *January* the *Seventeenth*

venteenth, concludes with a Paragraph, representing the great Licences taken in publishing false and scandalous Libels, such as are a Reproach to any Government; and recommending to them to find a Remedy equal to the Mischief. The Meaning of these Words in the Message, seems to be confined to these Weekly and Daily Papers and Pamphlets, reflecting upon the Persons and the Management of the Ministry. But the House of Commons, in their Address, which answers this Message, makes an Addition of the Blasphemies against God and Religion; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the Honour of the Legislature, than some effectual Law for putting a Stop to this universal Mischief: but as the Person*, who advised the Queen in that Part of her Message, had only then in his Thoughts the redressing of the political and factious Libels, I think he ought to have taken Care, by his great Credit in the House, to have proposed some Ways by which that Evil might be removed; the Law for taxing single Papers having produced a quite contrary Effect, as was then foreseen by many Persons, and hath since been found true by Experience. For the adverse Party, full of Rage and Leisure since their Fall,

* Mr. Secretary *St. John*, now Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke*.

and unanimous in Defence of their Cause, employ a Set of Writers by Subscription, who are well versed in all the Topics of Defamation, and have a Stile and Genius levelled to the Generality of Readers; while those who would draw their Pens on the Side of their Prince and Country, are discouraged by this Tax, which exceeds the intrinsic Value both of the Materials and the Work; a Thing, if I be not mistaken, without Example.

It must be acknowledged, that the bad Practices of Printers have been such, as to deserve the severest Animadversions of the Public; and it is to be wished, the Party-Quarrels of the Pen were always managed with Decency and Truth: but in the mean time, to open the Mouths of our Enemies and shut our own, is a Turn of Politics that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the Ministry now in Possession, because they are in Possession, may despise such Trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that acting as they do upon a national Interest, they may seem to stand in less Need of such Supports, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But if the Leaders of the other Party had proceeded by this Maxim, their Power would have been none at all, or of very short Duration: and had not some active Pens fallen in to improve the good Dispositions of the People, upon the late Change, and continued since to overthrow the

the Falshood, plentifully, and sometimes not unplaufibly, fcattered by the Adverfaries, I am very much in Doubt, whether thofe at the Helm would now have Reason to be pleafed with their Succels. A particular Perfon may, with more Safety, defpife the Opinion of the Vulgar, becaufe it does a wife Man no real Harm or Good, but the Adminiftration a great deal; and whatever Side has the fole Management of the Pen, will foon find Hands enough to write down their Enemies as low as they pleafe. If the People had no other Idea of thofe whom her Majefty trusts in her greateft Affairs, than what is conveyed by the Paflions of fuch as would compafs Sea and Land for their Defttruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in Pieces by the Rage of the Multitude? How neceffary therefore was it, that the World fhould, from time to time, be undeceived by true Representations of Perfons and Facts, which have kept the Kingdom fteady to its Intereft, againft all the Attacks of a cunning and virulent Faction.

HOWEVER, the Mifchiefs of the Prefs were too exorbitant to be cured, by fuch a Remedy, as a Tax upon the fmall Papers; and a Bill for a much more effectual Regulation of it was brought into the Houfe of Commons, but fo late in the Seffion, that there was no Time to pafs it: For there hath hitherto always appeared, an

Unwillingness to cramp overmuch the Liberty of the Press, whether from the Inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little ; or whether the Benefit proposed by each Party to themselves, from the Service of their Writers, towards recovering or preserving of Power, be thought to outweigh the Disadvantages. However it came about, this Affair was put off from one Week to another, and the Bill not brought into the House till the eighth of *June*. It was committed three Days, and then heard of no more. In this Bill there was a Clause inserted, (whether industriously with Design to overthrow it) that the Author's Name, and Place of Abode, should be set to every printed Book, Pamphlet, or Paper ; which I believe no Man, who hath the least Regard to Learning, would give his Consent to : For, besides the Objection to this Clause from the Practice of pious Men, who, in publishing excellent Writings for the Service of Religion, have chosen, out of an humble Christian Spirit, to conceal their Names ; it is certain, that all Persons of true Genius or Knowledge have an invincible Modesty and Suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their Thoughts into the World ; and that those who are dull or superficial, void of all Taste and Judgment, have Dispositions directly contrary : So that if this Clause had made Part of a Law, there
would



would have been an End, in all Likelihood, of any valuable Production for the future, either in Wit or Learning: and that insufferable Race of stupid People, who are now every Day loading the Press, would then reign alone, in Time destroy our very first Principles of Reason, and introduce Barbarity amongst us, which is already kept out with so much Difficulty by so few Hands.

HAVING given an Account of the several Steps made towards a Peace, from the first Overtures begun by *France*, to the Commencement of the second Session, I shall in the fourth Book relate the Particulars of this great Negotiation, from the Period last-mentioned to the present Time; and because there happened some Passages in both Houses, occasioned by the Treaty, I shall take Notice of them under that Head. There only remains to be mentioned one Affair of another Nature, which the Lords and Commons took into their Cognizance, after a very different Manner, wherewith I shall close this Part of my Subject.

THE Sect of Quakers amongst us, whose System of Religion, first founded upon Enthusiasm, hath been many Years growing into a Craft, held it an unlawful Action to take an Oath to a Magistrate. This Doctrine was taught them by the Author of their Sect, from a literal Application of the

Text, *Swear not at all*; but being a Body of People, wholly turned to Trade and Commerce of all Kinds, they found themselves on many Occasions deprived of the Benefit of the Law, as well as of voting at Elections, by a foolish Scruple, which their Obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this Inconvenience, these People had Credit enough in the late Reign to have an Act passed, that their solemn Affirmation and Declaration should be accepted, instead of an Oath in the usual Form. The great Concern in those Times, was to lay all Religion upon a Level; in order to which, this Maxim was advanced, that no Man ought to be denied the Liberty of serving his Country upon Account of a different Belief in speculative Opinions, under which Term People were apt to include every Doctrine of Christianity: However, this Act, in Favour of the Quakers, was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant Dependence, and expired of Course after a certain Term, if it were not continued. Those People had, therefore, very early in the Session, offered a Petition to the House of Commons for a Continuance of the Act, which was not suffered to be brought up; upon this they applied themselves to the Lords, who passed a Bill accordingly, and sent it down to the Commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first Reading.

AND

AND indeed it is not easy to conceive upon what Motives the Legislature of so great a Kingdom could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the Caprices of the most absurd Heresy that ever appeared in the World ; and this in a Point, where those deluding or deluded People stand singular from all the rest of Mankind who live under civil Government : But the Designs of an aspiring Party, at that Time were not otherwise to be compassed, than by Undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church ; and I am fully convinced, that if a Sect of Sceptic Philosophers (who profess to doubt of every Thing) had been then among us, and mingled their Tenets with some Corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same Privilege ; and that a Law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn Doubt of the People called Sceptics, should have been accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Form ; so absurd are all Maxims formed up the inconsistent Principles of Faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the Standard of Truth and Reason.

BOOK IV.

WE left the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and those of the Enemy, preparing to assemble at *Utrecht* on the first of *January*, N S in order to form a Congress for negotiating a general Peace, wherein although the *Dutch* had made a mighty Merit of their Compliance with the Queen, yet they set all their Instruments at work to inflame both Houses against her Majesty's Measures. *Monf. Botbmar*, the *Hanover* Envoy, took care to print and disperse his Memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: *Hoffman*, the Emperor's Resident, was soliciting for a Yacht and Convoys to bring over Prince *Eugene* at this Juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great Proposals from the Imperial Court: The Earl of *Nottingham* became a Convert, for Reasons already mentioned: Money was distributed where Occasion required; and the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Marlborough*, together with the Earl of *Godolphin*, had put themselves at the Head of the Junto, and their Adherents, in order to attack the Court.

SOME

SOME Days after, the Vote passed the House of Lords for admitting into the Address the Earl of *Nottingham's* Clause, against any Peace without *Spain*. Monf. *Buys*, the *Dutch* Envoy, who had been deep in all the Consultations with the discontented Party for carrying that Point, was desired to meet with the Lord Privy-Seal, the Earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. Secretary *St. John*, in order to sign a Treaty between the Queen and the States, to subsist after a Peace. There the Envoy took Occasion to expostulate upon the Advantages stipulated for *Britain* with *France*; said, "It was his Opinion, that those Ministers ought, in Respect of the Friendship between both Nations, to acquaint him what these Advantages were; and that he looked upon his Country to be intitled, by Treaty, to share them equally with us: That there was now another Reason why we should be more disposed to comply with him upon this Head; for since the late Resolution of the House of Lords. he took it for granted, it would be a dangerous Step in us to give *Spain* to a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*; and therefore, that we should do well to induce the States, by such a Concession, to help us out of this Difficulty."

Mr. *St. John* made Answer, "That there was not a Man in the Queen's Council
I 5 "capable

“capable of so base a Thought: That if
 “*Buys* had any thing to complain of,
 “which was injurious to *Holland*, or justly
 “tending to hurt the good Correspondence
 “between us and the States, he was confident
 “her Majesty would at all Times be
 “ready to give it up; but that the Ministers
 “scorned to screen themselves at the
 “Expence of their Country: That the Resolution
 “*Buys* mentioned, was chiefly owing
 “to foreign Ministers intermeddling
 “in our Affairs, and would perhaps have
 “an Effect the Projectors did not foresee:
 “That, if the Peace became impracticable,
 “the House of Commons would certainly
 “put the War upon another Foot, and reduce
 “the public Expence within such a Compass
 “as our Treaties required in the strictest
 “Sense, and as our present Condition would
 “admit, leaving the Partisans for War to
 “supply the rest.”

ALTHOUGH the Secretary believed
 this Answer would put an End to such
 infamous Proposals, it fell out otherwise;
 for shortly after, *Monf. Buys* applied him-
 self to the Treasurer, promising to under-
 take, “That his Masters should give up
 “the Article of *Spain*, provided they might
 “share with us in the *Affiento* for Negroes.”
 To which the Treasurer’s Answer was
 short, “That he would rather lose his
 Head than consent to such an Offer.”

IT is manifest, by this Proceeding, that whatever Schemes were forming here at Home, in this Juncture, by the Enemies to the Peace, the *Dutch* only designed to fall in with it as far as it would answer their own Account; and, by a Strain of the lower Politics, wherein they must be allowed to excel every Country in *Christendom*, lay upon the Watch for a good Bargain, by taking Advantage of the Distress they themselves had brought upon their nearest Neighbour and Ally.

BUT the Queen highly resented this Indignity from a Republic, upon whom she had conferred so many Obligations. She could not endure that the *Dutch* should employ their Instruments to act in Confederacy with a Cabal of factious People, who were prepared to sacrifice the Safety of their Prince and Country to the Recovery of that Power they had so long possessed and abused. Her Majesty knew very well, that whatever were the mistaken or affected Opinion of some People at Home, upon the Article *Spain*, it was a Point the States had long given up, who had very openly told our Ministry, "That the War in that Country was only our Concern, and what their Republic had nothing to do with." It is true, the Party-Leaders were equally convinced, that the Recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many Things

Things may be excused in a professed Adversary, fallen under Disgrace, which are highly criminal in an Ally, upon whom we are that very Instant conferring new Favours. Her Majesty therefore thought it high Time to exert herself, and at length put a Stop to foreign Influence upon *British* Counsels; so that, after the Earl of *Nottingham's* Clause against any Peace, without *Spain*, was carried in the House of Lords, Directions were immediately sent to the Earl of *Strafford* at the *Hague*, to inform the *Dutch*, " That it was obtained by a Trick, " and would consequently turn to the Dis- " appointment and Confusion of the Con- " trivers and the Actors." He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved to the Pensionary and *Dutch* Ministers; to let them know, " The Queen thought " herself ill treated; and that they would soon " hear what Effects those Measures would " have upon a mild and good Temper, " wrought up to Resentment by repeated " Provocations: That the States might " have the War continued, if they pleased; " but that the Queen would not be forced " to carry it on after their Manner, nor " would suffer them to make her Peace, " or to settle the Interests of her King- " doms."

To others in *Holland*, who appeared to be more moderate, the Earl was directed to say,

say, " That the States were upon a wrong
 " Scent : That their Minister here mistook
 " every Thing that we had promised :
 " That we would perform all they could
 " reasonably ask from us, in relation to
 " their Barrier and their Trade ; and that
 " *Monf. Buys* dealt very unfairly, if he had
 " not told them as much. But that *Bri-*
 " *tain* proceeded, in some Respects, upon
 " a new Scheme of Politics ; would no
 " longer struggle for Impossibilities, nor be
 " amused by Words : That our People came
 " more and more to their Senses ; and that
 " the single Dispute now was, whether the
 " *Dutch* would join with a Faction, against
 " the Queen, or with the Nation, for her ?"

THE Court likewise resolved to discour-
 age Prince *Eugene* from his Journey to *Eng-*
land, which he was about this Time under-
 taking, and of which I have spoken be-
 fore. He was told, " That the Queen
 " wanted no Exhortations to carry on the
 " War ; but the Project of it should be a-
 " greed abroad, upon which her Majesty's
 " Resolutions might soon be signified : but
 " until she saw what the Emperor and Al-
 " lies were ready to do, she would neither
 " promise nor engage for any Thing."
 At the same time Mr. *St. John* told *Hoffman*,
 the Emperor's Resident here, " That if the
 " Prince had a Mind to divert himself in
 " *London*, the Ministers would do their Part
 " to

“ to entertain him, and be sure to trouble
 “ him with no manner of Business.”

THIS Coldness retarded the Prince's Journey for some Days; but did not prevent it, although he had a second Message by the Queen's Order, with this farther Addition,
 “ That his Name had lately been made use
 “ of, on many Occasions, to create a Fer-
 “ ment, and stir up Sedition; and that her
 “ Majesty judged it would be neither safe
 “ for him, nor convenient for her, that he
 “ should come over at this Time.” But
 all would not do: it was enough that the Queen did not absolutely forbid him, and the Party-Confederates, both foreign and domestic, thought his Presence would be highly necessary for their Service.

TOWARDS the End of *December*, the Lord Privy-Seal * set out for *Holland*. He was ordered to stop at the *Hague*, and, in Conjunction with the Earl of *Strafford*, to declare to the States, in her Majesty's Name,
 “ her Resolutions to conclude no Peace,
 “ wherein the Allies in general, and each
 “ Confederate in particular, might not find
 “ their ample Security, and their reasona-
 “ ble Satisfaction: That she was ready to
 “ insist upon their Barrier, and Advantages
 “ in their Trade, in the manner the States

* *Dr. Robinson, Bishop of Bristol.*

“ them-

“ themselves should desire ; and to concert
 “ with them such a Plan of Treaty, as both
 “ Powers might be under mutual Engage-
 “ ments never to recede from : That no-
 “ thing could be of greater Importance,
 “ than for the Ministers of *Great Britain*
 “ and *Holland* to enter the Congress under
 “ the strictest Ties of Confidence, and en-
 “ tirely to Concur throughout the Course
 “ of these Negotiations. To which Pur-
 “ pose, it was her Majesty’s Pleasure, that
 “ their Lordships should adjust with the
 “ *Dutch* Ministers, the best Manner and
 “ Method for opening and carrying on the
 “ Conferences, and declare themselves in-
 “ structed to communicate freely their
 “ Thoughts and Measures to the Plenipo-
 “ tentiaries of the States, who, they hoped,
 “ had received the same Instructions.

LASTLY, the two Lords were to signify
 to the Pensionary, and the other Ministers,
 “ That her Majesty’s Preparations for the
 “ next Campaign were carried on with all
 “ the Dispatch and Vigour, which the pre-
 “ sent Circumstances would allow ; and to
 “ insist, that the same might be done by
 “ the States, and that both Powers should
 “ join in pressing the Emperor, and other
 “ Allies, to make greater Efforts than they
 “ had hitherto done ; without which the
 “ War must languish, and the Terms of
 “ Peace become every day more disadvan-
 “ tageous.”

THE

THE two *British* Plenipotentiaries went to *Utrecht* with very large Instructions, and, after the usual Manner, were to make much higher Demands from *France* (at least in behalf of the Allies) than they could have any Hope to obtain. The Sum of what they had in Charge, besides matter of Form, was, to concert with the Ministers of the several Powers engaged against *France*,
 “ That all Differences arising among them
 “ should be accommodated between them-
 “ selves, without suffering the *French* to in-
 “ terfere : That whatever were proposed to
 “ *France* by a Minister of the Alliance,
 “ should be backed by the whole Confede-
 “ racy : That a Time might be fixed for
 “ the Conclusion, as there had been for the
 “ Commencement of the Treaty.” *Spain*
 was to be demanded out of the Hands of the *Bourbon* Family, as the most effectual Means for preventing the Union of that Kingdom with *France* ; and whatever conditions the Allies could agree upon for hindering that Union, their Lordships were peremptorily to insist on.

As the Interests of each Ally in particular, the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were to Demand “ *Strasburgh*, the Fort of *Kehl*,
 “ with its Dependencies, and the Town of
 “ *Brisac*, with its Territory, for the Emperor :
 “ That *France* should possess *Alsatia*, ac-
 “ cording to the Treaty of *Westphalia*, with
 “ the

“ the right of the Prefecture only over the
 “ ten Imperial Cities in that Country : That
 “ the Fortifications of the said ten Cities
 “ be put into the Condition they were in at
 “ the Time of the said Treaty, except *Lan-*
 “ *dau*, which was to be demanded for the
 “ Emperor and Empire, with Liberty of
 “ demolishing the Fortifications : That the
 “ *French* King should at a certain Time, and
 “ at his own Expence, demolish the For-
 “ tresses of *Hunningen*, *New Brisac*, and
 “ Fort *Lewis*, never to be rebuilt.

“ T H A T the Town and Fortrefs of
 “ *Rhinfelt* should be demanded for the Land-
 “ grave of *Hesse-Cassel*, until that Matter be
 “ otherwise settled.

“ T H A T the Clause relating to Religi-
 “ on, in the fourth Article of the Treaty
 “ of *Riswick*, and Contrary to that of *West-*
 “ *phalia*, should be annulled, and the State
 “ of Religion in *Germany* restored to the
 “ Tenour of the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

“ T H A T *France* should acknowledge
 “ the King of *Prussia*, and give him no Dis-
 “ turbance in *Neufchatel* and *Valengin*: That
 “ the Principality of *Orange*, and other
 “ Estates belonging to the late King *Wil-*
 “ *liam*, should be restored, as Law should
 “ direct.

“ T H A T the Duke of *Hanover* should
 “ be acknowledged Elector.

“ T H A T the King of *Portugal* should
 “ enjoy

“ enjoy all the Advantages stipulated between him and the Allies.

“ THAT the States should have for their Barrier *Furnes, Fort Knock, Menin, Ipres, Lisle, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Douay, Bethune Avie, St. Venant, and Bouchain*, with their Cannon, &c. That the *French* King should Restore all the Places belonging to *Spain*, now or during this War in his Possession, in the *Netherlands*: That such Part of them as should be thought fit, might be allowed likewise for a Barrier to the States: That *France* should grant the Tariff of 1664 to the States, and Exemption of fifty Pence *per Tun* upon *Dutch* Goods trading to that Kingdom.

“ BUT that these Articles in Favour of the States should not be concluded, till the Barrier-Treaty were explained to the Queen's Satisfaction.

“ THAT the Duke of *Savoy* should be put in Possession of all taken from him in this War, and enjoy the Places yielded to him by the Emperor, and other Allies: That *France* should likewise yield to him *Exilles, Fenestrelles, Chaumont, the Valley of Pregata, and the Land lying between Piedmont and Mount Genu*.

“ THAT the Article about demolishing of *Dunkirk* should be explained.”

As to *Britain*, the Plenipotenaries were

to insist, " That *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*,
 " *Ghent*, and all Places which appear to be
 " a Barrier rather against *England* than
 " *France*, should either not be given to
 " the *Dutch*, or at least in such a Manner,
 " as not to hinder the Queen's Subjects free
 " Passage to and from the *Low Countries*.

" THAT the seventh Article of the
 " Barrier-Treaty, which impowers the
 " States, in Case of an Attack, to put
 " Troops at Discretion in all the Places of
 " the *Low Countries*, should be so explained
 " as to be understood only of an Attack
 " from *France*.

" THAT *Britain* should trade to the
 " *Low Countries* with the same Privileges as
 " the States themselves.

" That the most Christian King should
 " acknowledge the Succession of *Hanover*,
 " and immediately oblige the Pretender to
 " leave *France*; and that the said King
 " should promise, for Himself and his
 " Heirs, never to acknowledge any Person
 " for King or Queen of *England*, otherwise
 " than according to the Settlements now in
 " Force.

" THAT a Treaty of Commerce should
 " be commenced, as soon as possible, be-
 " tween *France* and *Britain*; and in
 " the mean Time, the necessary Points re-
 " lating to it be settled.

" THAT the Isle of *St. Christopher's* should
 " be

“ be surrendered to the Queen, *Hudson's*
 “ Bay restored, *Placentia* and the whole
 “ Island of *Newfoundland* yielded to *Britain*,
 “ by the most Christian King ; who was
 “ likewise to quit all Claim to *Nova Scotia*
 “ and *Annapolis Royal*.

“ THAT *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* should
 “ be annexed to the *British* Crown.

“ THAT the *Assiento* should be granted
 “ to *Britain* for thirty Years, with
 “ the same Advantage as to *France* ; with
 “ an Extent of Ground on the River of
 “ *Plata*, for keeping and refreshing the
 “ Negroes.

“ THAT *Spain* should grant to the Sub-
 “ jects of *Britain* as large Privileges as to
 “ any other Nation whatsoever ; as like-
 “ wise an Exemption of Duties, amount-
 “ ing to an Advantage of at least fifteen
 “ per Cent.

“ THAT Satisfaction should be de-
 “ manded for what should appear to be
 “ justly due to her Majesty from the Em-
 “ peror and the States.

“ LASTLY, That the Plenipotentiaries
 “ should consult with those of the Protestant
 “ Allies, the most effectual Methods for
 “ restoring the Protestants of *France* to their
 “ Religious and Civil Liberties, and for the
 “ immediate Release of those who are now
 “ in the Gallies.”

WHAT

WHAT Part of these Demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the Sequel of this Negotiation. But there was no Difficulty of Moment enough to retard the Peace, except a Method for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain* under one Prince, and the settling the Barrier for *Holland*; which last, as claimed by the States, could, in Prudence and Safety, be no more allowed by us than by *France*.

THE States General having appointed *Monf. Buys* to be one of their Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, that Minister left *England* a few Days after the Lord Privy-Seal. In his last Conference with the Lords of the Council, he absolutely declared, " That his Masters had done their utmost, both by Sea and Land : That it was unreasonable to expect more : That they had exceeded their Proportion, even beyond *Britain* ; and that as to the Emperor, and other Allies, he knew no Expedient left for making them act with more Vigour, than to pursue them with pathetic Exhortations."

THIS Minister was sent over hither, instructed and impowered by Halves. The Ferment raised by the united Endeavours of our Party-Leaders, among whom he was a constant Fellow-Labourer to the utmost of his Skill, had wholly confounded him ; and
thinking

thinking to take the Advantage of negotiating well for *Holland* at the Expence of *Britain*, he acted but ill for his own Country, and worse for the Common Cause. However, the Queen's Ministers and he parted with the greatest Civility ; and her Majesty's Present was double the Value of what is usual to the Character he bore.

As the Queen was determined to alter her Measures in making War, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the Necessity of a Peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this Resolution, which her Ambassador *Strafford*, then at the *Hague*, was accordingly directed to do: And if they should object, of what ill Consequence it would be for the Enemy to know her Majesty designed to lessen her Expences, he might answer, " That the
 " ministers here were sorry for it ; but the
 " *Dutch* could only blame themselves, for
 " forcing into such a Necessity a Princess,
 " to whose Friendship they owed the Preservation and Grandeur of their Republic, and chusing to lean on a broken
 " Faction, rather than place their Confidence in the Queen."

It was her Majesty's earnest Desire, that there should be a perfect Agreement at this Treaty between the Ministers of all the Allies, than which nothing could be more effectual to make *France* comply with their

their just Demands : Above all, she directed her Plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest Confidence with those of *Holland* ; and that, after the States had consented to explain the Barrier-Treaty to her reasonable Satisfaction, both Powers should form between them a Plan of general Peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the Quiet of *Europe*, as well as the particular Interests of each Confederate.

THE *Dutch* were accordingly pressed, before the Congress opened, to come to some Temperament upon that famous Treaty ; because the Ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the House of Commons, by which the Resentment of the Nation would probably appear against those who had been Actors and Advisers in it ; but Mons. *Buys*, who usually spoke for his Collegues, was full of Opposition, began to expostulate upon the Advantages *Britain* had stipulated with *France*, and to insist, that his Masters ought to share equally in them all, but especially the Assiento Contract : So that no Progress was made in fixing a previous good Correspondence between *Britain* and the States, which her Majesty had so earnestly recommended.

CERTAIN Regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of Ceremony and other
Incon-

Inconveniencies, the Conferences began at *Utrecht*, upon the Twenty-ninth of *January*, N. S. 1711-12, at Ten in the Morning. The Ministers of the Allies going into the Town-house at one Door, and those of *France*, at the same Instant, at another, they all took their Seats without Distinction; and the Bishop of *Bristol*, Lord Privy-Seal, first Plenipotentiary of *Britain*, opened the Assembly with a short Speech, directed to the Ministers of *France*, in Words to the following Effect:

“ Messieurs,

“ WE are here met to-day, in the
 “ Name of God, to enter upon a Treaty
 “ of General Peace, between the High
 “ Allies and the King your Master. We
 “ bring sincere Intentions, and exprefs Or-
 “ ders from our Superiors, to concur, on
 “ their Part, with whatever may advance
 “ and perfect so salutary and Christian a
 “ Work. On the other Side, we hope
 “ you have the same Disposition; and that
 “ your Orders will be so full, as to be able,
 “ without Loss of Time, to answer the Ex-
 “ pectation of the High Allies, by explain-
 “ ing yourselves clearly and roundly upon
 “ the Points we shall have to settle in these
 “ Conferences; and that you will perform
 “ this in so plain and specific a Manner, as
 “ every Prince and State in the Confederacy
 “ may

" may find a just and reasonable Satisfaction."

THE *French* began, by promising to explain the Overtures, which *Monf. Mefnager* had delivered to the Queen some Months before, and to give in a specific Project of what their Master would yield, provided the Allies would each give a specific Answer, by making their several Demands ; which Method, after many Difficulties, and affected Delays of the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

BUT the States, who had, with the utmost Discontent, seen her Majesty at the Head of this Negotiation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their Ill-humour upon every Occasion ; they raised endless Difficulties about settling the Barrier-Treaty, as the Queen desired ; and in one of the first General Conferences, they would not suffer the *British* Secretary to take the Minutes, but nominated some *Dutch* Professor for that Office, which the Queen refused, and resented their Behaviour as an useless Cavil, intended only to shew their Want of Respect. The *British* Plenipotentiaries had great Reason to suspect, that the *Dutch* were, at this Time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate Measures with *France*, by the Intervention of one *Moleau*, a busy factious Agent at *Amsterdam*, who had been

K

often

often employed in such Intrigues : that this was the Cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their Steps, in hopes to break the Congress, and find better Terms for their Trade and Barrier, from the *French*, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* Ministers did also apply themselves with industry, to cultivate the Imperial Plenipotentiary's Favour, in order to secure all Advantages of Commerce with *Spain* and the *West Indies*, in case those Dominions could be procured for the Emperor : for this Reason they avoided settling any general Plan of Peace, in Concert with the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, which her Majesty desired ; and *Monf. Buys* plainly told their Lordships, that it was a Point, which neither he nor his Colleagues could consent to, before the States were admitted equal Sharers with *Britain* in the Trade of *Spain*.

THE Court having Notice of this untractable Temper in the *Dutch*, gave direct Orders to the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, for pressing those of the States to adjust the the gross Inequalities of the Barrier-Treaty, since nothing was more usual or agreeable to Reason than for Princes, who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial Contracts, to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared by Votes in the House of Commons, that the
Sense

Sense of the Nation agreed with what her Majesty desired, if the *Dutch* Ministers would not be brought to any moderate Terms upon this Demand, their Lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular Concessions made to *Britain* by *France*, and form them into a Treaty ; for the Queen was determined never to allow the States any Share in the *Affiento*, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mabon* ; nor could think it reasonable, that they should be upon an equal Foot with her in the Trade of *Spain*, to the Conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

NOR was the Conduct of the Imperial Minister, at this Time, less perplexing than that of the States, both those Powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the Negotiation, or, upon forcing from the Queen those Advantages she expected by it for her own Kingdoms. Her Majesty therefore thought fit, about the Beginning of *March*, to send Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near Relation of the Treasurer's, to *Utrecht*, fully informed of her Mind, which he was directed to communicate to the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

MR. *Harley* stopped in his Way to *Utrecht* at the *Hague*, and there told the Pensionary.
 " That nothing had happened lately in
 " *England* but what was long ago foretold
 " him, as well as the other Ministers of the

“ Allies : That the Proceedings of the
 “ House of Commons, particularly about
 “ the Barrier-Treaty, must chiefly be a-
 “ scribed to the Manner in which the
 “ Queen and the Nation had been treated
 “ by Mons. *Bothmar*, Count *Gallas*, *Buys*,
 “ and other Foreign Ministers : That if the
 “ States would yet enter into a strict Union
 “ with the Queen, give her Satisfaction in
 “ the said Treaty, and join in Concert with
 “ her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, a safe
 “ and advantageous Peace might be obtain-
 “ ed for the whole Alliance ; otherwise her
 “ Majesty must save her own Country,
 “ and join with such of her Allies as would
 “ join with her.

“ As to the War, that the Conduct of
 “ the Allies, and their Opposition to the
 “ Queen, by private Intrigues carried on
 “ among her own Subjects, as well as by
 “ open Remonstrances, had made the
 “ House of Commons take that Matter
 “ out of the Hands of the Ministers.

“ LASTLY, that in case the present
 “ Treaty were broken off by the *Dutch* re-
 “ fusing to comply, her Majesty thought
 “ it reasonable to insist, that some Cautio-
 “ nary Places be put into her Hands as
 “ Pledges, that no other Negotiation should
 “ be entered into by the States General,
 “ without her Participation.”

MR. *Harley's* Instructions to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries were, " That they should press those of *France*, to open themselves as far as possible, in concerting such a Plan of a General Peace, as might give reasonable Satisfaction to all the Confederates, and such as her Parliament would approve: That the People of *England* believed *France* would consent to such a Plan; wherein if they have found themselves deceived, they would be as eager for prosecuting the War as ever."

THEIR Lordships were to declare openly to the *Dutch*, " That no Extremity should make her Majesty depart from insisting to have the Assiento for her own Subjects, and to keep *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mabon*; but if the States would agree with her upon these three Heads, she would be content to reduce the Trade of *Spain* and the *West Indies*, to the Condition it was in under the late Catholic King *Charles II.*

THE *French* were farther to be pressed, " That the Pretender should be immediately sent out of that Kingdom; and that the most effectual Method should be taken, for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain* under one Prince "

ABOUT this Time her Majesty's Ministers, and those of the Allies at *Utrecht*, delivered in the several Postulata, or Demands of their

Masters to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, which having been since made Public, and all of them, except those of *Britain*, very much varying in the Course of the Negotiation, the Reader would be but ill entertained with a Transcript of them here.

UPON Intelligence of the last Dauphin's Death, the Father, Son, and Grandson, all of that Title, dying within the Compass of a Year, Monsieur *Gaultier* went to *France* with Letters to the Marquis of *Torcy*, to propose her Majesty's Expedient for preventing the Union of that Kingdom with *Spain*; which, as it was the most important Article to be settled, in order to secure Peace for *Europe*, so it was a Point that required to be speedily adjusted under the present Circumstances and Situation of the *Bourbon* Family, there being only left a Child of two Years old to stand between the Duke of *Anjou* and his succeeding to the Crown of *France*.

HER Majesty likewise pressed *France* by the same Dispatches, to send full Instructions to their Plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the Allies such a Plan of Peace, as might give reasonable Satisfaction to all her Allies.

THE Queen's Proposal for preventing an Union between *France* and *Spain* was,
 “ That *Philip* should formally renounce
 “ the Kingdom of *France* for himself and
 “ his

“ his Posterity ; and that this Renuncia-
 “ tion should be confirmed by the Courts
 “ or States of *Spain*, who, without Questi-
 “ on, would heartily concur against such
 “ an Union, by which their Country must
 “ become a Province to *France*.” In like
 Manner, the *French* Princes of the Blood
 were severally to renounce all Title to
Spain.

THE *French* raised many Difficulties upon
 several Particulars of this Expedient ; but
 the Queen persisted to refuse any Plan of
 Peace before this weighty Point were settled
 in the Manner she proposed, which was
 afterwards submitted to, as in proper Place
 we shall observe. In the mean time, the
 Negotiation at *Utrecht* proceeded with a very
 slow pace ; the *Dutch* interposing all Ob-
 structions they could contrive, refusing to
 come to any reasonable Temper upon the
 Barrier-Treaty, or to offer a Plan, in con-
 cert with the Queen, for a general Peace.
 Nothing less would satisfy them, than the
 partaking in those Advantages we had sti-
 pulated for Ourselves, and which did no
 Ways interfere with their Trade or Se-
 curity. They still expected some Turn
 in *England* ; their Friends on this Side had
 ventured to assure them, that the Queen
 could not live many Months, which, in-
 deed, from the bad State of her Majesty's
 Health, was reasonable to expect. The

British Plenipotentiaries daily discovered new Endeavours of *Holland* to treat privately with *France*, and lastly, those among the States, who desired the War should continue, strove to gain Time, until the Campaign should open ; and by resolving to enter into Action with the first Opportunity, render all Things desperate, and break up the Congress.

THIS Scheme did exactly fall in with Prince *Eugene's* Dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their General, and of whose Conduct, in this Conjunction, the Queen had too much Reason to be jealous ; but her Majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost towards putting a good and speedy End to this War, having placed the Duke of *Ormond* at the Head of her Forces in *Flanders*, whither he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the Troops in *British* Pay, whether Subjects or Foreigners, immediately under his own Command ; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any Action of Importance, unless upon a very apparent Advantage. At the same Time the Queen determined to make one thorough Trial of the Disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost Concessions that could any Way suit either with her Safety or Honour. She therefore directed her Ministers at *Utrecht*, to tell the
Dutch,

Dutch, “ That, in order to shew how de-
 “ firable she was to live in perfect Amity
 “ with that Republic, she would resign
 “ up the Fifteen *per Cent.* Advantage
 “ upon *English* Goods sent to the *Spanish*
 “ Dominions, which the *French* King had
 “ offered her by a power from his Grand-
 “ son, and be content to reduce that
 “ Trade to the State in which it was
 “ under the late King of *Spain*. She
 “ would accept of any tolerable Soften-
 “ ing of these Words in the seventh
 “ Article of the Barrier-Treaty, where
 “ it is said, the States shall have Power,
 “ in case of an apparent Attack, to put
 “ as many Troops as they please into
 “ all the Places of the *Netherlands*, with-
 “ out specifying an Attack from the Side
 “ of *France*, as ought to have been done;
 “ otherwise, the Queen might justly think
 “ they were preparing themselves for a
 “ Rupture with *Britain*. Her Majesty
 “ likewise consented, that the States
 “ should keep *Nieuport*, *Dendermond*, and
 “ the Castle of *Ghent*, as an Addition to
 “ their Barrier, although she were sensi-
 “ ble how injurious those Concessions
 “ would be to the Trade of her Subjects;
 “ and would wave the Demand of *Ostend*
 “ being delivered into her Hands, which
 “ she might with Justice insist on. In
 “ return of all this, that the Queen only
 K 5 “ de-

“ desired the Ministers of the States would
 “ enter into a close Correspondence with
 “ her’s, and settle between them some
 “ Plan of a general Peace, which might
 “ give reasonable content to all her Allies,
 “ and which her Majesty would endeavour
 “ to bring *France* to consent to. She
 “ desired the Trade of her Kingdoms to
 “ the *Netherlands*, and to the Towns of
 “ their Barrier, might be upon as good a
 “ Foot as it was before the War began:
 “ That the *Dutch* would not insist to have
 “ a Share in the *Assiento*, to which they
 “ had not the least Pretensions, and that
 “ they would no longer encourage the Intrigues
 “ of a Faction against her Government. Her Majesty assured them in
 “ plain Terms, that her own future Measures,
 “ and the Conduct of her Plenipotentiaries,
 “ should be wholly governed by their Behaviour in these Points; and
 “ that her Offers were only conditional, in
 “ case of their Compliance with what she
 “ desired.”

BUT all these Proofs of the Queen's Kindness and Sincerity would not avail. The *Dutch* Ministers pleaded, they had no Power to concert the Plan of General Peace with those of *Britain*: However, they assured the latter, that the *Assiento* was the only Difficulty which stuck with their Masters. Whereupon, at their
 Desire,

Desire, a Contract for that Traffic was twice read to them ; after which they appeared very well satisfied, and said they would go to the *Hague* for further Instructions. Thither they went, and after a Week's Absence, returned the same Answer, " That they had no Power to settle a " Scheme of Peace ; but could only discourse " of it, when the Difficulties of the Barrier- " Treaty were over." And *Monf. Buys* took a Journey to *Amsterdam*, on purpose to stir up that City, where he was Pensionary, against yielding the *Affiento* to *Britain* ; but was unsuccessful in his Negotiation ; the Point being yielded up there, and in most other Towns in *Holland*.

It will have an odd Sound in History, and appear hardly credible, that in several petty Republics of single Towns, which made up the States General, it should be formally debated, whether the Queen of *Great Britain*, who preserved the Commonwealth at the Charge of so many Millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a Peace, the Liberty granted her by *Spain* of selling *African* Slaves in the *Spanish* Dominions of *America* ! But there was a prevailing Faction at the *Hague*, violently bent against any Peace, where the Queen must act that Part which they had intended for themselves.

selves. These Politicians, who held constant Correspondence with their old dejected Friends in *England*, were daily fed with the vain Hopes of the Queen's Death, or the Party's Restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out the Time, till Prince *Eugene's* Activity had pushed on some great Event, which might govern or perplex the Conditions of Peace. Therefore the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the Instructions of those mistaken Patriots, acted in every Point with a Spirit of Litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater Advantage to the Enemy ; a strict Union between the Allies, but especially *Britain* and *Holland*, being doubtless the only Means for procuring safe and honourable Terms from *France*.

BUT neither was this the worst ; for the Queen received undoubted Intelligence from *Utrecht*, that the *Dutch* were again attempting a separate Correspondence with *France*. And by Letters, intercepted here, from *Vienna*, it was found, that the Imperial Court, whose Ministers were in the utmost Confidence with those of *Holland*, expressed the most furious Rage against her Majesty, for the Steps she had taken to advance a Peace.

THIS unjustifiable Treatment, The Queen could not digest from an Ally, upon

upon whom she had conferred so many signal Obligations, whom she had used with so much Indulgence and Sincerity during the whole Course of the Negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every Motion towards a Peace. She apprehended likewise, that the Negotiation might be taken out of her Hands, if *France* could be secure of easier Conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Britain* wanted Power to influence the whole Confederacy. She resolved therefore, on this Occasion, to exert herself with Vigour, Steadiness, and Dispatch; and, in the Beginning of *May*, sent her Commands to the Earl of *Strafford* to repair immediately to *England*, in order to consult with her Ministers what was proper to be done.

THE Proposal above-mentioned, for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*, met with many Difficulties; *Mons. de Torcy* raising Objections against several Parts of it. But the Queen refused to proceed any farther with *France*, until this weighty Point were fully settled to her Satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a Suspension of Arms, provided the Town and Citadel of *Dunkirk* might be delivered as a Pledge into her Hands: and proposed that *Ipres* might be surrendered

rendered to the *Dutch*, if they would consent to come into the Suspension. *France* absolutely refused the latter; and the States General having acted in perpetual Contradiction to her Majesty, she pressed that Matter no farther; because she doubted they would not agree to a Cessation of Arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy End, or at least Intermision, to her own Share in the War, and the *French* having declared themselves ready to agree to her Expedients, for preventing the Union of the two Crowns, and contented to the Delivery of *Dunkirk*; positive Orders were sent to the Duke of *Ormond* to avoid engaging in any Battle or Siege, until he had further Instructions; but he was directed to conceal his Orders, and to find the best Excuses he could, if any pressing Occasion should offer.

THE Reasons for this unusual Proceeding, which made a mighty Noise, were of sufficient Weight to justify it; for, pursuant to the Agreement made between us and *France*, a Courier was then dispatched from *Fontainbleau* to *Madrid*, with the Offer of an Alternative to *Philip*, either of resigning *Spain* immediately to the Duke of *Savoy*, upon the Hopes of succeeding to *France*, and some present Advantage, which, not having been ac-
cepted

cepted, is needless to dilate on ; or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing all future Claim to *France* for himself and his Posterity.

UNTIL it could be known which Part *Philip* would accept, the Queen would not take Possession of *Dunkirk*, nor suffer an Armistice to be declared. But, however, since the most Christian King had agreed that his Grandson should be forced, in case of a Refusal, to make his Choice immediately, her Majesty could not endure to think, that perhaps some thousands of Lives of her own Subjects and Allies might be sacrificed, without Necessity, if an Occasion should be found or sought for fighting a Battle ; which, she very well knew, Prince *Eugene* would eagerly attempt, and put all into Confusion, to gratify his own Ambition, the Enmity of his new Masters the *Dutch*, and the Rage of his Court.

BUT the Duke of *Ormond*, who, with every other Quality that can accomplish or adorn a great Man, inherits all the Valour and Loyalty of his Ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his Commission ; for Prince *Eugene*, and all the Field-Deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the Enemy, or besieging *Quesnoy*, the Confederate Army being now all joined
by

by the Troops they expected; and accordingly, about three Days after the Duke had received those Orders from Court, it was proposed to his Grace, at a Meeting with the Prince and Deputies, that the *French* Army should be attacked, their Camp having been viewed, and a great Opportunity offering to do it with Success: for the *Mareschal de Villars*, who had Notice sent him by *Monf. de Torcy* of what was passing, and had signified the same by a Trumpet to the Duke, shewed less Vigilance than was usual to that General, taking no Precautions to secure his Camp, or observe the Motions of the Allies, probably on purpose to provoke them; the Duke said, “ That the Earl of *Strafford’s* sudden Departure for *England*, made him believe there was something of Consequence now transacting, which would be known in four or five Days; and therefore desired they would defer this or any other Undertaking, until he could receive fresh Letters from *England*.” Whereupon the Prince and Deputies immediately told the Duke, “ That they looked for such an Answer as he had given them: That they had suspected our Measures for some Time, and their Suspicions were confirmed by the Express his Grace had so lately received,

“ as well as by the Negligence of Mons.
 “ *Villars*.” They appeared extremely dissatisfied ; and the Deputies told the Duke, that they would immediately send an Account of his Answer to their Masters, which they accordingly did ; and soon after, by Order from the States, wrote him an expostulating Letter, in a Style less respectful than became them ; desiring him, among other Things, to explain himself, whether he had positive Orders not to fight the *French* ; and afterwards told him, “ They were sure he had such Orders, otherwise he could not answer “ what he had done.” But the Duke still waved the Question, saying, “ he would “ be glad to have Letters from *England*, “ before he entered upon Action, and that “ he expected them daily.”

UPON this Incident, the Ministers and Generals of the Allies immediately took the Alarm, venting their Fury in very violent Expressions against the Queen, and those she employed in her Councils ; said, they were betrayed by *Britain*, and assumed the Countenance of those who think they have received an Injury, and were disposed to return it.

THE Duke of *Ormond*'s Army consisted of eighteen thousand of her Majesty's Subjects, and about thirty thousand hired from
 other

other Princes, either wholly by the Queen, or jointly by her and the States. The Duke immediately informed the Court of the Dispositions he found among the foreign Generals upon this Occasion; and that, upon an Exigency, he could only depend on the *British* Troops adhering to him; those of *Hanover* having already determined to desert to the *Dutch*, tempted the *Danes* to do the like, and that he had Reason to suppose the same of the rest.

UPON the News arriving at *Utrecht*, that the Duke of *Ormond* had refused to engage in any Action against the Enemy, the *Dutch* Ministers there went immediately to make their Complaints to the Lord Privy-Seal; aggravating the Strangeness of this Proceeding, together with the Consequence of it, in the Loss of a most favourable Opportunity for ruining the *French* Army, and the Discontent it must needs create in the whole Body of the Confederates. Adding, how hard it was that they should be kept in the Dark, and have no Communication of what was done in a Point which so nearly concerned them. They concluded, that the Duke must needs have acted by Orders; and desired his Lordship to write both to Court, and to his Grace, what they had now said.

THE Bishop answered, " That he knew
 " nothing of this Fact, but what they had
 " told him ; and therefore was not pre-
 " pared with a Reply to their Represen-
 " tations : Only, in general, he could ven-
 " ture to say, that this Case appeared very
 " like the Conduct of their Field-Deputies
 " upon former Occasions : That if such
 " Orders were given, they were certainly
 " built upon very justifiable Foundations,
 " and would soon be so explained as to
 " convince the States, and all the World,
 " that the Common Interest would be bet-
 " ter provided for another Way, than by a
 " Battle or Siege : That the Want of Com-
 " munication which they complained of,
 " could not make the States so uneasy, as
 " their declining to receive it, had made
 " the Queen, who had used her utmost
 " Endeavours to persuade them to concur
 " with her in concerting every Step to-
 " wards a General Peace, and settling such
 " a Plan as both Sides might approve and
 " adhere to ; but, to this Day, the States
 " had not thought fit to accept those Of-
 " fers, or to authorise any of their Ministers
 " to treat with her Majesty's Plenipoten-
 " tiaries upon that Affair, although they
 " had been pressed to it ever since the Ne-
 " gociation began : That his Lordship, to
 " shew that he did not speak his private
 " Sense alone, took this Opportunity to
 " execute

“ execute the Orders he had received the
 “ Evening before, by declaring to them,
 “ that all her Majesty’s Offers for adjusting
 “ the Differences between her and the
 “ States were founded upon this express
 “ Condition, That they should come im-
 “ mediately into the Queen’s Measures,
 “ and act openly and sincerely with her;
 “ and that, from their Conduct, so directly
 “ contrary, she now looked upon herself
 “ to be under no Obligation to them.”

MONS. *Buys* and his Collegues were
 stunned with this Declaration, made to them
 at a Time when they pretended to think
 the Right of complaining to be on their
 Side, and had come to the Bishop upon
 that Errand. But after their Surprise was
 abated, and *Buys*’s long Reasonings at an
 End, they began to think how Matters
 might be retrieved; and were of Opinion,
 that the States should immediately dispatch
 a Minister to *England*, unless his Lordship
 were empowered to treat with them;
 which, without new Commands, he said
 he was not. They afterwards desired to
 know of the Bishop, what the Meaning
 was of the last Words in his Declaration,
 “ That her Majesty looked upon herself to
 “ be under no Obligation to them.” He
 told them his Opinion, “ That as the
 “ Queen was bound by Treaty to concert
 “ with the States the Conditions of a Peace,
 “ 10

“ so, upon their declining the Concert so
 “ frequently offered, she was acquitted of
 “ that Obligation : But that he verily be-
 “ lieved, whatever Measures her Majesty
 “ should take, she would always have a
 “ friendly Regard to the Interest of their
 “ Commonwealth ; and that as their Un-
 “ kindness had been very unexpected and
 “ disagreeable to her Majesty, so their
 “ Compliance would be equally pleasing.”

I HAVE been the more circumstantial
 in relating this Affair, because it furnished
 Abundance of Discourse, and give Rise to
 many wild Conjectures and Misrepresenta-
 tions, as well here as in *Holland*, especially
 that Part which concerned the Duke of
Ormond ; for the angry Faction in the House
 of Commons, upon the first Intelligence
 that the Duke had declined to act offen-
 sively against *France*, in Concurrence with
 the Allies, moved for an Address, wherein
 the Queen should be informed of “ the
 “ deep Concern of her Commons for the
 “ dangerous Consequences to the Common
 “ Cause, which must arise from this Pro-
 “ ceeding of her General ; and to beseech
 “ her, that speedy Instructions might be
 “ given to the Duke to prosecute the War
 “ with Vigour, in order to quiet the Minds
 “ of her People, &c.” But a great Ma-
 jority was against this Motion, and a Re-
 solution drawn up and presented to the
 Queen

Queen by the whole House of a quite contrary Tenour, “ That they had an intire
 “ Confidence in her Majesty’s most gracious Promise, to communicate to her
 “ Parliament the Terms of the Peace, before the same should be concluded;
 “ and that they would support her Majesty, in obtaining an honourable and safe
 “ Peace, against all such Persons either at
 “ Home or Abroad, who have endeavoured,
 “ or shall endeavour to obstruct the same.”

THE Courier sent with the Alternative to *Spain*, was now returned, with an Account that *Philip* had chosen to renounce *France* for himself and his Posterity; whereof the Queen having received Notice, her Majesty, upon the Sixth of *June*, in a long Speech to both Houses of Parliament, laid before them the Terms of a general Peace, stipulated between her and *France*. This Speech, being the Plan whereby both *France* and the Allies have been obliged to proceed in the subsequent Course of the Treaty, I shall desire the Reader’s Leave to insert it at Length, although I believe it hath been already in most Hands.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ THE making Peace and War is the
 “ undoubted Prerogative of the Crown;
 “ yet such is the just Confidence I place

“ in you, that at the Opening of this Session, I acquainted you that a Negotiation for a General Peace was begun ; and afterwards by Messages, I promised to communicate to you the Terms of Peace, before the same should be concluded,

“ IN Pursuance of that Promise, I now come to let you know upon what Terms a General Peace may be made.

“ I NEED not mention the Difficulties which arise from the very Nature of this Affair ; and it is but too apparent, that these Difficulties have been increased by other Obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good Work.

“ NOTHING, however, has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first Place, the true Interests of my own Kingdoms ; and I have not omitted any Thing, which might procure to all our Allies what is due to them by Treaties, and what is necessary for their Security.

“ THE assuring of the Protestant Succession, as by Law established, in the House of *Hanover*, to these Kingdoms, being what I have nearest at Heart, particular Care is taken not only to have that acknowledged in the strongest Terms, but to have an additional Security, by the Removal of that Person out of the Dominions of *France*, who
“ has

“ has pretended to disturb this Settlement.

“ THE Apprehension that *Spain* and the *West Indies* might be united to *France*, was the chief Inducement to begin this War; and the effectual Preventing of such an Union, was the Principle I laid down at the Commencement of this Treaty: Former Examples, and the late Negotiations, sufficiently shew how difficult it is to find Means to accomplish this Work. I would not content myself with such as are speculative, or depend on Treaties only: I insisted on what was solid, and to have at Hand the Power of executing what should be agreed.

“ I CAN therefore now tell you, that *France* at last is brought to offer, that the Duke of *Anjou* shall, for himself and his Descendants, renounce for ever all Claim to the Crown of *France*; and that this important Article may be exposed to no Hazard, the Performance is to accompany the Promise.

“ AT the same Time the Succession to the Crown of *France* is to be declared, after the Death of the present Dauphin and his Sons, to be in the Duke of *Berry* and his Sons, in the Duke of *Orleans* and his Sons, and so on to the rest of the House of *Bourbon*.

“ As

“ As to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the Succession to those Dominions, after the Duke of *Anjou* and his Children, is to descend to such Prince as shall be agreed upon at the Treaty, for ever excluding the rest of the House of *Bourbon*.

“ For confirming the Renunciations and Settlements before-mentioned, it is further offered, that they should be ratified in the most strong and solemn Manner, both in *France* and *Spain*; and that those Kingdoms, as well as all the other Powers engaged in the present War, shall be Guarantees to the same.

“ THE Nature of this Proposal is such, that it executes itself: the Interest of *Spain* is to support it; and in *France*, the Persons to whom that Succession is to belong, will be ready and powerful enough to vindicate their own Right.

“ *FRANCE* and *Spain* are now more effectually divided than ever. And thus by the Blessing of God, will a real Balance of Power be fixed in *Europe*, and remain liable to as few Accidents as human Affairs can be exempted from.

“ A TREATY of Commerce between these Kingdoms and *France* has been entered upon; but the excessive Duties laid on some Goods, and the Prohibitions of others, make it impossible to finish this Work so soon as were to be desired. Care is however taken to establish a Me-

L

“ thod

“ thod of settling this Matter; and in the
 “ mean Time Provision is made, that the
 “ same Privileges and Advantages, as shall
 “ be granted to any other Nation by *France*,
 “ shall be granted in like Manner to us.

“ THE Division of the Island of *St.*
 “ *Christopher*, between us and the *French*,
 “ having been the Cause of great Inconve-
 “ niency and Damage to my Subjects, I
 “ have demanded to have an absolute Cef-
 “ sion made to me of the whole Island, and
 “ *France* agrees to this Demand.

“ OUR Interest is so deeply concerned in
 “ the Trade of *North America*, that I have
 “ used my utmost Endeavours to adjust
 “ that Article in the most beneficial Man-
 “ ner. *France* consents to restore to us the
 “ whole Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, to
 “ deliver up the Island of *Newfoundland*,
 “ with *Placentia*; and to make an absolute
 “ Cession of *Annapolis*, with the Rest of
 “ *Nova Scotia*, or *Accadie*: the Safety of
 “ our Home Trade will be better provided
 “ for, by the Demolition of *Dunkirk*.

“ OUR *Mediterranean* Trade, and the
 “ *British* Interest and Influence in those
 “ Parts, will be secured by the Possession
 “ of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, with the
 “ whole Island of *Minorca*, which are of-
 “ fered to remain in my Hands.

“ THE Trade to *Spain* and the *West In-*
 “ *dies* may in general be settled, as it was
 “ in the Time of the late King of *Spain*,
 “ Charles

“ *Charles* the II^d. and a particular Provi-
 “ sion be made, that all Advantages, Rights,
 “ or Privileges, which have been granted,
 “ or may hereafter be granted, by *Spain*
 “ to any other Nation, shall be in like
 “ Manner granted to the Subjects of *Great*
 “ *Britain*.

“ BUT the Part which we have borne in
 “ the Prosecution of this War, intitling us
 “ to some Distinction in the Terms of
 “ Peace, I have insisted, and obtained, that
 “ the Assiento, or Contract for furnishing
 “ the *Spanish* West Indies with Negroes,
 “ shall be made with us for the Term of
 “ thirty Years, in the same Manner as it
 “ has been enjoyed by the *French* for ten
 “ Years past.

“ I HAVE not taken upon me to deter-
 “ mine the Interests of our Confederates;
 “ these must be adjusted in the Congress
 “ at *Utrecht*, where my best Endeavours
 “ shall be employed, as they have hither-
 “ to constantly been, to procure to every
 “ one of them all just and reasonable Sa-
 “ tisfaction. In the mean Time, I think
 “ it proper to acquaint you, that *France*
 “ offers to make the *Rhine* the Barrier of
 “ the Empire; to yield *Brisack*, the Fort
 “ of *Kehl*, and *Landau*, and to raise all the
 “ Fortresses, both on the other Side of the
 “ *Rhine*, and in that River.

“ As to the Protestant Interest in *Ger-*
 “ *many*, there will be on the Part of

“ *France* no Objection to the resettling
 “ thereof, on the Foot of the Treaty of
 “ *Westphalia*.

“ THE *Spanish* Low Countries may go
 “ to his Imperial Majesty: the Kingdoms
 “ of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, the Dutchy of
 “ *Milan*, and the Places belonging to
 “ *Spain* on the Coast of *Tuscany*, may
 “ likewise be yielded by the Treaty of
 “ Peace to the Emperor.

“ As to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, though
 “ there remains no Dispute concerning the
 “ Cession of it by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet
 “ the Disposition thereof is not yet deter-
 “ mined.

“ THE Interests of the States General,
 “ with Respect to Commerce, are agreed
 “ to, as they have been demanded by their
 “ own Ministers, with the Exception only
 “ of some very few Species of Merchan-
 “ dize; and the intire Barrier, as de-
 “ manded by the States in 1709 from
 “ *France*, except two or three Places at
 “ most.

“ As to these Exceptions, several Expe-
 “ dients are proposed; and I make no
 “ Doubt but this Barrier may be so settled,
 “ as to render that Republick perfectly
 “ secure against any Enterprize on the
 “ Part of *France*; which is the Founda-
 “ tion of all my Engagements upon this
 “ Head with the States.

“ THE

“ THE Demands of *Portugal* depending on the Disposition of *Spain*, and that Article having been long in Dispute, it has not been yet possible to make any considerable Progreis therein; but my Plenipotentiaries will now have an Opportunity to assist that King in his Pretensions.

“ THOSE of the King of *Prussia* are such as, I hope, will admit of little Difficulty on the Part of *France*; and my utmost Endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an Ally.

“ THE Difference between the Barrier demanded for the Duke of *Savoy* in 1709, and the Offers now made by *France*, is very inconsiderable: but that Prince having so signally distinguished himself in the Service of the common Cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still farther Advantages.

“ *France* has consented, that the Elector *Palatine* shall continue his present Rank among the Electors, and remain in Possession of the upper *Palatinate*.

“ THE electoral Dignity is likewise acknowledged in the House of *Hanover*, according to the Article inserted at that Prince's Desire in my Demands.

“ AND as to the rest of the Allies, I
“ make no Doubt of being able to secure
“ their several Interests.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I HAVE now communicated to you,
“ not only the Terms of Peace, which
“ may, by the future Treaty, be obtained
“ for my own Subjects; but likewise the
“ Proposals of *France*, for satisfying our
“ Allies.

“ THE former are such as I have reason
“ to expect, to make my People some
“ Amends for that great and unequal
“ Burden which they have lain under,
“ through the whole Course of this War;
“ and I am willing to hope, that none of
“ our Confederates, and especially those
“ to whom so great Accessions of Domi-
“ nion and Power are to accrue by this
“ Peace, will envy *Britain* her Share in
“ the Glory and Advantage of it.

“ THE latter are not yet so perfectly
“ adjusted, as a little more Time might
“ have rendered them; but the Season of
“ the Year making it necessary to put an
“ End to this Session, I resolved no longer
“ to defer communicating these Matters to
“ you.”

“ I CAN make no doubt but you are all
“ fully persuaded, that nothing will be
“ neglected

“ neglected on my Part, in the Progress
 “ of the Negociation, to bring the Peace
 “ to an happy and speedy Issue; and I de-
 “ pend on your intire Confidence in me,
 “ and your chearful Concurrence with
 “ me.”

THE discontented Party in the House of Commons, finding the Torrent against them not to be stemmed, suspended their Opposition; by which Means an Address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her Majesty's Condescension, to express their Satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present Negotiations for the obtaining a speedy Peace.

DURING these Transactions at home, the Duke of *Ormond* was in a very uneasy Situation at the Army, employed in practising those Arts which perhaps are fitter for a subtle Negociator than a great Commander. But as he had always proved his Obedience, where Courage or Conduct could be of Use; so the Duty he professed to his Prince, made him submit to continue in a State of Inactivity at the Head of his Troops, however contrary to his Nature, if it were for her Majesty's Service. He had sent early Notice to the Ministers, that he could not depend upon the foreign Forces in the Queen's Pay, and he now found some Attempts were already begun to seduce them.

WHILE the Courier was expected from *Madrid*, the Duke had Orders to inform the Marechal *de Villars* of the true State of this Affair; that his Grace would have decisive Orders in three or four Days. In the mean Time, he desired the Marechal would not oblige him to come to any Action, either to defend himself, or to join with Prince *Eugene's* Army; which he must necessarily do, if the Prince were attacked.

WHEN the Courier was arrived with the Account, that *Philip* had chosen to accept of *Spain*, her Majesty had proposed to *France* a Suspension of Arms for two Months (to be prolonged three or four), between the Armies now in *Flanders*, upon the following Conditions:

“ That, during the Suspension, Endeavours should be used for concluding a
 “ general Peace; or, at least, the Article
 “ for preventing the Union of *France* and
 “ *Spain*, should be punctually executed
 “ by *Philip's* renouncing *France*, for him-
 “ self and his Posterity; and the Princes
 “ of *Bourbon*, in like Manner renouncing
 “ *Spain*: and that the Town, Citadel, and
 “ Forts of *Dunkirk*, should be immediately
 “ delivered into the Queen's Hands.” Her
 Majesty at the same Time endeavoured to
 get *Cambray* for the *Dutch*, provided they
 would come into the Suspension. But this
 was absolutely rejected by *France*; which
 that

that Court would never have ventured to do, if those Allies could have been prevailed on to have acted with Sincerity and Openness in Concert with her Majesty, as her Plenipotentiaries had always desired. However, the Queen promised, that, if the States would yield to a Suspension of Arms, they should have some valuable Pledge put into their Possession.

BUT now fresh Intelligence daily arrived, both from *Utrecht* and the Army, of Attempts to make the Troops in her Majesty's Pay, desert her Service; and a Design even of seizing the *British* Forces, was whispered about, and with Reason suspected.

WHEN the Queen's Speech was published in *Holland*, the Lord Privy-seal told the *Dutch* Ministers at *Utrecht*, " That
 " what her Majesty had laid before her
 " Parliament could not, according to the
 " Rules of Treaty, be looked on as the utmost
 " of what *France* would yield in
 " the Course of a Negotiation; but only
 " the utmost of what that Crown would
 " propose, in order to form the Plan of a
 " Peace: That these Conditions would
 " certainly have been better, if the States
 " had thought fit to have gone Hand in
 " Hand with her Majesty, as she had so
 " frequently exhorted them to do: That
 " nothing but the Want of Harmony
 " among the Allies had spirited the *French*

“ to stand out so long: That the Queen
 “ would do them all the good Offices in
 “ her Power, if they thought fit to com-
 “ ply; and did not doubt of getting them
 “ reasonable Satisfaction, both in Relation
 “ to their Barrier and their Trade.” But
 this Reasoning made no Impression: the
Dutch Ministers said, the Queen’s Speech
 had deprived them of the Fruits of the
 War. They were in Pain, lest *Lisle* and
Tournay might be two of the Towns to be
 expected out of their Barrier. The rest
 of the Allies grew angry, by the Example
 of the *Dutch*. The Populace in *Holland*
 began to be inflamed: They publicly
 talked, that *Britain* had betrayed them.
 Sermons were preached in several Towns
 of their Provinces, whether by Direction
 or Connivance, filled with the highest In-
 stances of Disrespect to her *Britannick* Ma-
 jesty, whom they charged as a Papist, and
 an Enemy to their Country. The Lord
 Privy-seal himself believed something ex-
 traordinary was in Agitation, and that his
 own Person was in Danger from the Fury
 of the People.

It is certain, that the States appeared
 but a few Days before very much dis-
 posed to comply with the Measures the
 Queen had taken, and would have con-
 sented to a general Armistice, if Count
Zinzendorf, one of the Plenipotentiaries
 for the Emperor, had not, by direct Orders
 from

from his Court, employed himself in sowing Jealousies between *Britain* and the States; and at the same Time made prodigious Offers to the Latter, as well as to the Ministers of *Prussia*, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing the War. That those three Electors, who contributed nothing, except Bodies of Men in Return of Pay and Subsidies, should readily accept the Proposals of the Emperor, is easy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave Republick, usually cautious enough in making their Bargains, should venture to reject the Thoughts of a Peace upon the Promises of the House of *Austria*, the little Validity whereof they had so long experienced; and especially when they counted upon losing the Support of *Britain*, their most powerful Ally; but the false Hopes given them by their Friends in *England* of some new Change in their Favour, or an Imagination of bringing *France* to better Terms by the Appearance of Resolution, added to the Weakness or Corruption of some, who administered their Affairs, were the true Causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable Temper among them.

THE *Dutch* Ministers were wholly disconcerted and surpris'd, when the Lord Privy-seal told them, " That a Suspension
 " of Arms in the *Netherlands* would be
 " necessary;

“ necessary ; and that the Duke of Or-
 “ *mond* intended very soon to declare it
 “ after he had taken Possession of *Dun-*
 “ *kirk*.” But his Lordship endeavoured to
 convince them, that this Incident ought
 rather to be a Motive for hastening the
 States into a Compliance with her Ma-
 jesty. He likewise communicated to the
 Ministers of the Allies the Offers made by
France as delivered in the Speech from
 the Throne, which her Majesty thought
 to be satisfactory, and hoped their Masters
 would concur with her in bringing the
 Peace to a speedy Conclusion, wherein
 each, in particular, might be assured of
 her best Offices for advancing their just
 Pretensions.

IN the mean Time the Duke of Or-
mond was directed to send a Body of
 Troops to take Possession of *Dunkirk*, as
 soon as he should have Notice from the
Marechal de Villars, that the Com-
 mandant of the Town had received Or-
 ders from his Court to deliver it ; but the
 Duke foresaw many Difficulties in the exe-
 cuting this Commission. He could trust
 such an Enterprize to no Forces, except
 those of her Majesty’s own Subjects. He
 considered the Temper of the States in this
 Conjuncture, and was loath to divide a
 small Body of Men, upon whose faithfulness
 alone he could depend. He thought
 it not prudent to expose them to march
 through

through the Enemy's Country, with whom there was yet neither Peace nor Truce; and he had sufficient Reasons to apprehend, that the *Dutch* would either not permit such a Detachment to pass through their Towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed: Besides, the Duke had very fairly signified to Marechal *de Villars*, that he expected to be deserted by all the foreign Troops in her Majesty's Pay, as soon as the Armistice should be declared; at which the Marechal appearing extremely disappointed, said, "the King his Master reckoned, that all the Troops under his Grace's Command should yield to the Cessation; and wondered how it should come to pass, that those who might be paid for lying still, would rather chuse, after a ten Years war, to enter into the Service of new Masters, under whom they must fight on for Nothing." In short, the Opinion of Monsr. *Villars* was, that this Difficulty cancelled the Promise of surrendering *Dunkirk*; which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the Letters he writ to his Court.

UPON the Duke of *Ormond*'s representing those Difficulties, the Queen altered her Measures, and ordered Forces to be sent from *England* to take Possession of *Dunkirk*. The Duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign Generals in her Majesty's

Majesty's Service, how highly she would resent their Desertion; after which, their Masters must give up all Thoughts of any Arrears, either of Pay or Subsidy. The Lord Privy-Seal spoke the same Language at *Utrecht*, to the several Ministers of the Allies; as Mr. Secretary *St. John* did to those who resided here; adding, "That the Proceeding of the foreign Troops would be looked upon as a Declaration for or against her Majesty: And that, in case they desert her Service, she would look on herself as justified, before God and Man, to continue her Negotiation at *Utrecht*, or any other Place, whether the Allies concur or not." And particularly the *Dutch* were assured, "That if their Masters seduced the Forces hired by the Queen, they must take the whole Pay, Arrears, and Subsidies on themselves."

The Earl of *Strafford*, preparing about this Time to return to *Utrecht*, with Instructions proper to the present Situation of Affairs, went first to the Army, and there informed the Duke of *Ormond* of her Majesty's Intentions. He also acquainted the States Deputies with the Queen's Uneasiness, lest, by the Measures they were taking, they should drive her to Extremities, which she desired so much to avoid. He farther represented to them, in the plainest Terms, the Provocations her Majesty had received, and the Grounds and Reasons for her

her present Conduct. He likewise declared to the Commanders in chief of the foreign Troops, in the Queen's Pay, and in the joint Pay of *Britain* and the States, with how much Surprize her Majesty had heard, " That there was the least Doubt of their obeying the Orders of the Duke of *Ormond*; which if they refused, her Majesty would esteem it not only as an Indignity and Affront, but as a Declaration against her; and, in such a Case, they must look on themselves as no farther intitled either to any Arrear, or future Pay or Subsidies."

Six Regiments, under the Command of Mr. *Hill*, were now preparing to embark, in order to take Possession of *Dunkirk*; and the Duke of *Ormond*, upon the first Intelligence sent him, that the *French* were ready to deliver the Town, was to declare he could act no longer against *France*. The Queen gave Notice immediately of her Proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, " That their perpetual caballing with her factious Subjects, against her Authority, had forced her into such Measures, as otherwise she would not have engaged in. However, her Majesty was willing yet to forget all that had passed, and to unite with them in the strictest Ties of Amity, which she hoped they would now do; since they could not but be convinced, by the late dutiful Addresses of
both

“ both Houses, how far their High Migh-
 “ tinesses had been deluded, and drawn in
 “ as Instruments to serve the Turn, and
 “ gratify the Passions, of a disaffected Party:
 “ That their Opposition, and want of Con-
 “ cert with her Majesty’s Ministers, which
 “ she had so often invited them to, had en-
 “ couraged *France* to except Towns out of
 “ their Barrier, which otherwise might have
 “ been yielded: That, however, she had
 “ not precluded them, or any other Ally,
 “ from demanding more; and even her
 “ own Terms were but conditional, upon
 “ Supposition of a general Peace to ensue:
 “ That her Majesty resolved to act upon
 “ the Plan laid down in her Speech;” and
 she repeated the Promise of her best of-
 fices to promote the Interest of the States,
 if they would deal sincerely with her.

SOME Days before the Duke of *Ormond*
 had Notice, that Orders were given for the
 Surrender of *Dunkirk*, Prince *Eugene* of Sa-
 voy sent for the Generals of the Allies, and
 asked them severally, whether, in case the
 Armies separated, they would march with
 him, or stay with the Duke? All of them,
 except two, who commanded but small Bo-
 dies, agreed to join with the Prince; who
 thereupon, about three Days after, sent the
 Duke Word, that he intended to march the
 following Day (as it was supposed) to be-
 siege *Landrecy*. The Duke returned an
 Answer, “ That he was surprised at the
 “ Prince’s

“ Prince’s Message, there having been not
 “ the least previous Concert with him, nor
 “ any Mention in the Message, which Way,
 “ or upon what Design, the March was in-
 “ tended : Therefore, that the Duke could
 “ not resolve to march with him ; much
 “ less could the Prince expect Assistance
 “ from the Queen’s Army, in any Design
 “ undertaken after this Manner.” The
 Duke told this beforehand, that he (the
 Prince) might take his Measures according-
 ly, and not attribute to her Majesty’s Ge-
 neral any Misfortune that might happen.

On the sixteenth of *July*, N. S. the several
 Generals of the Allies joined Prince *Eugene’s*
 Army, and began their March, after taking
 Leave of the Duke and the Earl of *Strafford*,
 whose Expostulations could not prevail on
 them to stay ; although the latter assured
 them, that the Queen had made neither
 Peace nor Truce with *France*, and that her
 Forces would now be left exposed to the
 Enemy.

The next Day after this famous Deser-
 tion, the Duke of *Ormond* received a Letter
 from *Monf. de Villars*, with an Account,
 that the Town and Citadel of *Dunkirk* should
 be delivered to *Mr. Hill*. Whereupon a
 Cessation of Arms was declared, by sound
 of Trumpet, at the Head of the *British* Ar-
 my ; which now consisted only of about
 eighteen thousand Men, all of her Majesty’s
 Subjects, except the *Holsteiners* and Count
Wallis’s

Wallis's Dragoons. With this small Body of Men the General began his March ; and, pursuant to Orders from Court, retired towards the Sea, in the Manner he thought most convenient for the Queen's Service. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by some of his Officers, that the Commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Lisle*, and *Tournay*, had refused them Passage through those Towns, or even Liberty of Entrance, and said it was by Order of their Masters. The Duke immediately recollected, that when the Deputies first heard of his Resolution to withdraw his Troops, they told him, they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their Towns. This made him conclude, that the Orders must be general, and that his Army would certainly meet with the same Treatment which his Officers had done. He had likewise, before the Armies separated, received Information of some Designs that concerned the Safety, or at least the Freedom of his own Person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few *British* Troops intrusted to his Care. No General was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his Soldiers, who, to a Man, were prepared to sacrifice their Lives in his Service ; and whose Resentments were raised to the utmost, by the Ingratitude, as they termed it, of their Deserters.

UPON these Provocations, he laid aside all Thoughts of returning to *Dunkirk*, and began

began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a Conjunction, something important to the Queen, and at the same Time find a secure Retreat for his Forces. He formed his Plan without communicating it to any Person whatsoever; and the Disposition of the Army being to march towards *Warneton*, in the Way to *Dunkirk*, he gave sudden Orders to Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* to change his Route, according to the military Phrase, and move towards *Orchies*, a Town leading directly to *Ghent*.

WHEN Prince *Eugene* and the States Deputies received News of the Duke's Motions, they were alarmed to the utmost Degree, and sent Count *Nassau*, of *Wordenburg*, to the general's Camp near *Orchies*, to excuse what had been done, and to assure his Grace, that those Commandants, who had refused Passage to his Officers, had acted wholly without Orders. Count *Hempseck*, one of the *Dutch* Generals, came likewise to the Duke with the same Story; but all this made little Impression on the General, who held on his March, and on the twenty-third of *July*, N. S. entered *Ghent*, where he was received with great Submission by the Inhabitants, and took Possession of the Town, as he likewise did of *Bruges*, a few Days after.

THE Duke of *Ormond* thought, that considering the present Disposition of the States towards *Britain*, it might be necessary for the

the Queen to have some Pledge from that Republick in her Hands, as well as from *France*, by which Means her Majesty would be impowered to act the Part that best became her, of being Mediator at least : That while *Ghent* was in the Queen's Hands, no Provisions could pass the *Scheld* or the *Lis* without her Permission, by which he had it in his Power to starve their Army. The Possession of these Towns might likewise teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, to preserve a Degree of Decency and Civility to her Majesty, which both of them were upon some Occasions too apt to forget : And besides, there was already in the Town of *Ghent*, a Battalion of *British* Troops and a Detachment of five hundred Men in the Citadel, together with a great Quantity of Ammunition-Stores for the Service of the War, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled ; so that no Service could be more seasonable or useful in the present Juncture than this, which the Queen highly approved, and left the Duke a discretionary Power to act as he thought fit on any future Emergency.

I HAVE a little intercepted the Order of Time, in relating the Duke of *Ormond's* Proceedings, who, after having placed a Garrison at *Bruges*, and sent a Supply of Men and Ammunition to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Ghent*, where he continued some Months, till he had Leave to return to *England*.

UPON

UPON the Arrival of Colonel *Disney* to Court, with an Account that Mr. *Hill* had taken Possession of *Dunkirk*, an universal Joy spread over the Kingdom, this Event being looked on as the certain Fore-runner of a Peace: Besides, the *French* Faith was in so ill a Reputation among us, that many Persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe, that the Town would be delivered, till certain Intelligence came that it was actually in our Hands. Neither were the Ministers themselves altogether at Ease, or free from Suspicion, whatever Countenance they made: For they knew very well, that the *French* King had many plausible Reasons to elude his Promise, if he found Cause to repent it. One Condition of surrendering *Dunkirk*, being a general Armistice of all the Troops in the *British* Pay, which her Majesty was not able to perform; and upon this Failure, the *Marechal de Villars* (as we have before-related) endeavoured to dissuade his Court from accepting the Conditions: And in the very Interval, while those Difficulties were adjusting, the *Marechal de Huxelles*, one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* (whose Inclinations, as well as those of his Colleague *Monsr. Mesnager*, led him to favour the States more than *Britain*) assured the Lord Privy-Seal, that the *Dutch* were then pressing to enter into separate Measures with his Master: And his Lordship,
in

in a Visit to the Abbé *de Polignac*, observing a Person to withdraw as he entered the Abbé's Chamber, was told by this Minister, that the Person he saw was one *Moleau*, of *Amsterdam*, mentioned before, a famous Agent for the States with *France*, who had been entertaining him (the Abbé) upon the same Subject, but that he had refused to treat with *Moleau*, without the Privy of *England*.

Mr. *Harley*, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the Spring to *Utrecht*, continued longer in *Holland* than was at first expected; but having received her Majesty's farther Instructions, was about this Time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the Misfortune of his Electoral Highness, to be very ill served by Mons. *Bothmar*, his Envoy here, who assisted at all the factious Meetings of the discontented Party, and deceived his Master by a false Representation of the Kingdom, drawn from the Opinion of those to whom he confined his Conversation. There was likewise at the Elector's Court a little *Frenchman*, without any Merit or Consequence, called *Robithan*, who, by the Assistance and Encouragement of the last Ministry, had insinuated himself into some Degree of that Prince's Favour, which he used in giving his Master the worst Impressions he was able, of those whom the Queen employed in her Service; insinuating, that the present Ministers were
not

not in the Interest of his Highness's Family; that their Views were towards the Pretender; that they were making an unsecure and dishonourable Peace; that the Weight of the Nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their Credit or Power.

THE Earl *Rivers* had, in the foregoing Years, been sent to *Hanover*, in order to undeceive the Elector, and remove whatever Prejudices might be infused into his Highness against her Majesty's Proceedings; but it should seem, that he had no very great Success in his Negotiation: for soon after his Return to *England*, *Monf. Bothmar's* Memorial appeared in the Manner I have already related, which discovered the Sentiments of his Electoral Highness (if they were truly represented in that Memorial) to differ not a little from those of the Queen. Mr. *Harley* was therefore directed to take the first Opportunity of speaking to the Elector in private, to assure him, " That although her Majesty had thought
 " herself justly provoked by the Conduct
 " of his Minister, yet such was her Affec-
 " tion for his Highness, and Concern for
 " the Interests of his Family, that instead
 " of shewing the least Mark of Resent-
 " ment, she had chosen to send him (Mr.
 " *Harley*) fully instructed to open her De-
 " signs, and shew his Highness the real In-
 " tereft

“ tereft of *Britain* in the prefent Conjunction.” Mr. *Harley* was to give the Elector a true Account of what had paffed in *England*, during the firft Part of this Seffion of Parliament; to expofe to his Highnefs the Weaknefs of thofe with whom his Minifter had confulted, and under whose Directions he had acted; to convince him how much lower that Faction muft become, when a Peace fhould be concluded, and when the natural Strength of the Kingdom, difincumbered from the Burthen of the War, fhould be at Liberty to exert itfelf; to fhew him how his Intereft in the Succeffion was facrificed to that of a Party; that his Highnefs had been hitherto a Friend to both Sides, but that the Meafures taken by his Minifters, had tended only to fet him at the Head of one in Oppofition to the other: to explain to the Elector, how fully the Safety of *Europe* was provided for by the Plan of Peace in her Majefty’s Speech; and how little Reason thofe would appear to have, who complained the loudeft of this Plan, if it were compared either with our Engagements to them when we began the War, or with their Performances in the Courfe of it.

UPON this Occafion Mr. *Harley* was to obferve to the Elector, “ That it fhould
 “ rather be wondered at, how the Queen
 “ had brought *France* to offer fo much,
 “ than yet to offer no more; becaufe, as
 “ foon

“ soon as ever it appeared, that her Ma-
 “ jesty would be at the Head of this Trea-
 “ ty, and that the Interests of *Britain* were
 “ to be provided for, such Endeavours were
 “ used to break off the Negociation, as are
 “ hardly to be paralleled; and the Dis-
 “ union thereby created among the Allies,
 “ had given more Opportunities to the
 “ Enemy of being slow in their Concessions,
 “ than any other Measures might possibly
 “ have done: That this Want of Concert
 “ among the Allies, could not in any Sort
 “ be imputed to the Queen, who had all
 “ along invited them to it with the greatest
 “ Earnestness, as the surest Means to bring
 “ *France* to Reason: That she had always,
 “ in a particular Manner, pressed the
 “ States General to come into the strictest
 “ Union with her, and opened to them
 “ her Intentions with the greatest Free-
 “ dom; but finding, that instead of con-
 “ curring with her Majesty, they were
 “ daily carrying on Intrigues to break off
 “ the Negociation, and thereby deprive
 “ her of the Advantages she might justly
 “ expect from the ensuing Peace, having
 “ no other Way left, she was forced to act
 “ with *France* as she did, by herself:
 “ That, however, the Queen had not
 “ taken upon herself to determine the
 “ Interests of the Allies, who were at Li-
 “ berty of insisting on farther Pretensions,
 “ wherein her Majesty would not be want-
 M “ ing

“ing to support them as far as she was
 “able, and improve the Concessions al-
 “ready made by *France*: in which Case,
 “a good Understanding and Harmony
 “among the Confederates, would yet be
 “of the greatest Use for making the Ene-
 “my more tractable and easy.”

I HAVE been more particular in reciting the Substance of Mr. *Harley*'s Instructions, because it will serve as a Recapitulation of what I have already said upon this Subject, and seems to set her Majesty's Intentions, and Proceedings at this Time, in the clearest Light.

AFTER the Cessation of Arms declared by the Duke of *Ormond*, upon the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, the *British* Plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of *Holland* to come into a general Armistice; for if the whole Confederacy acted in Conjunction, this would certainly be the best Means for bringing the common Enemy to reasonable Terms of Peace: but the States, deluded by the boundless Promises of Count *Zinzendorf*, and the undertaking Talent of Prince *Eugene*, who dreaded the Conclusion of the War, as the Period of his Glory, would not hear of a Cessation. The Loss of eighteen thousand *Britons* was not a Diminution of Weight in the Balance of such an Ally as the Emperor, and such a General as the Prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still

still superior to *France* in the Field; and although their Computation was certainly right in Point of Number, yet, in my Opinion, the Conclusion drawn from it, was grounded upon a great Mistake. I have been assured by several Persons of our own Country, and some Foreigners of the first Rank, both for Skill and Station in Arms, that in most Victories obtained in the present War, the *British* Troops were ever employed in the Post of Danger and Honour, and usually began the Attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the People of any other Country) by which they were not only an Example of Courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without Partiality, to have governed the Fortune of the Day; since it is known enough, how small a Part of an Army is generally engaged in any Battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater Moment in War than Opinion. The *French*, by their frequent Losses, which they chiefly attributed to the Courage of our Men, believed that a *British* General, at the Head of *British* Troops, was not to be overcome; and the *Marechal de Villars* was quickly sensible of the Advantage he had got; for, in a very few Days after the Desertion of the Allies, happened the Earl of *Albemarle's* Disgrace at *Denain*, by a Feint of the *Marechal's*, and a manifest Failure somewhere or other, both of Cou-

rage and Conduct on the Side of the Confederates. The Blame of which was equally shared between Prince *Eugene* and the Earl; although it is certain, the Duke of *Ormond* gave the latter timely Warning of his Danger, observing he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with Bridges sufficient for the Situation he was in, and at such a Distance from the main Army.

THE Marquis *de Torcy* had likewise the same Sentiments, of what mighty Consequence those few *British* Battalions were to the confederate Army; since he advised his Master to deliver up *Dunkirk*, although the Queen could not perform the Condition understood, which was a Cessation of Arms of all the foreign Forces in her Pay.

It must be owned, that *Monf. de Torcy* made great Merit of this Confidence that his Master placed in the Queen; and observing her Majesty's Displeasure against the *Dutch* on Account of their late Proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with Aggravations enough; insinuating, that, since the States had acted so ungratefully, the Queen should let her Forces join with those of *France*, in order to compel the Confederates to a Peace. But although this Overture was very tenderly hinted from the *French* Court, her Majesty heard it with
the

the utmost Abhorrence; and ordered her Secretary, Mr. *St. John* (created about this Time Viscount *Bolingbroke*), to tell Mons. *de Torcy*, “ That no Provocations what-
 “ ever should tempt her to distress her Al-
 “ lies; but she would endeavour to bring
 “ them to Reason by fair Means, or leave
 “ them to their own Conduct: That if the
 “ former should be found impracticable,
 “ she would then make her own Peace,
 “ and content herself with doing the Of-
 “ fice of a Mediator between both Parties:
 “ but if the States should at any Time
 “ come to a better Mind, and suffer their
 “ Ministers to act in Conjunction with
 “ her’s, she would assert their just In-
 “ terests to the utmost, and make no far-
 “ ther Progress in any Treaty with *France*,
 “ until those Allies received all reasonable
 “ Satisfaction, both as to their Barrier and
 “ their Trade.” The *British* Plenipoten-
 tiaries were directed to give the same As-
 surances to the *Dutch* Ministers at *Utrecht*,
 and withal to let them know, “ That the
 “ Queen was determined, by their late
 “ Conduct, to make Peace either with or
 “ without them; but would much rather
 “ chuse the former.”

THERE was, however, one Advantage
 which her Majesty resolved to make by
 this Defection of her Foreigners. She had
 been led, by the mistaken Politicks of
 some Years past, to involve herself in

several Guaranties with the Princes of the North, which were, in some Sort, contradictory to one another ; but this Conduct of their's wholly annulled all such Engagements, and left her at Liberty to interpose in the Affairs of those Parts of *Europe*, in such a Manner as would best serve the Interests of her own Kingdoms, as well as that of the Protestant Religion, and settle a due Balance of Power in the North.

THE grand Article for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*, was to be executed during a Cessation of Arms. But many Difficulties arising about that, and some other Points of great Importance to the common Cause, which could not easily be adjusted either between the *French* and *British* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, or by Correspondence between *Monf. de Torcy* and the Ministry here ; the Queen took the Resolution of sending the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* immediately to *France*, fully instructed in all her Intentions, and authorised to negotiate every Thing necessary for settling the Treaty of Peace in such a Course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy Conclusion. He was impowered to agree to a general Suspension of Arms, by Sea and Land, between *Great Britain*, *France* and *Spain*, to continue for four Months, or until the Conclusion of the Peace ; provided *France* and *Spain* would previously give positive Assurances

rances to make good the Terms demanded by her Majesty for the Duke of *Savoy*, and would likewise adjust and determine the Forms of the several Renunciations to be made by both those Crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The Lord *Bolingbroke* was likewise authorised to settle some Differences relating to the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose Interests *France* was not so much concerned as her Majesty was for these of the Duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful Articles which particularly related to the Advantages of *Britain*; to know the real Ultimatum, as it is termed, of *France* upon the general Plan of Peace; and lastly, to cut off all Hopes from that Court of ever bringing the Queen to force her Allies to a disadvantageous Peace; her Majesty resolving to impose no Scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the Liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best Conditions they could.

THE Lord *Bolingbroke* went to *France* in the beginning of *August*, was received at Court with particular Marks of Distinction and Respect; and in a very few Days, by his usual Address and Ability, performed every Part of his Commission, extremely to the Queen's Content and his own Honour. He returned to *England* before the End of the Month; but Mr. *Prior*, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust what-

ever Differences might remain or arise between the two Crowns.

IN the mean Time the general Conferences at *Utrecht*, which for several Weeks had been let fall, since the Delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now resumed. But the *Dutch* still declaring against a Suspension of Arms, and refusing to accept the Queen's Speech as a Plan to negotiate upon, there was no Progress made for some Time in the great Work of the Peace. Whereupon the *British* Plenipotentiaries told those of the States, " That if the Queen's Endeavours could
 " not procure more than the Contents of
 " her Speech, or if the *French* should ever
 " fall short of what was there offered, the
 " *Dutch* could blame none but themselves,
 " who, by their Conduct, had rendered
 " Things difficult, that would otherwise
 " have been easy." However, her Majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in Hopes of her good Offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate Course of leaving themselves wholly at the Mercy of *France*; which was an expedient they formerly practised, and which a Party among them was now inclined to advise.

Whilst the congress at *Utrecht* remained in this inactive State, the Queen proceeded to perfect that important Article for preventing the Union of *France* and *Spain*. It was proposed and accepted, that *Philip* should renounce *France*, for himself and his Posterity;

Posterity; and that the most Christian King, and all the Princes of his Blood, should, in the like Manner, renounce *Spain*.

It must be confessed, that this Project of Renunciation lay under a great Disrepute, by the former Practices of this very King, *Lewis XIV.* pursuant to an absurd Notion among many in that Kingdom, of a divine Right, annexed to Proximity of Blood, not to be controlled by any human Law.

BUT it is plain, the *French* themselves had Recourse to this Method, after all their Infractions of it, since the *Pyrenean Treaty*; for the first Dauphin, in whom the original Claim was vested, renounced, for himself and his eldest Son, which opened the Way to *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*; who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the Will made in his Favour by the last King, *Charles II.*

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any Patience, upon the unaccountable Stupidity of the Princes of *Europe* for some Centuries past, who left a Probability to *France* of succeeding in a few Ages to all their Dominions; whilst, at the same Time, no Alliance with that Kingdom could be of Advantage to any Prince, by Reason of the Salique Law. Should not common Prudence have taught every Sovereign in *Christendom* to enact a Salique Law, with Respect to *France*; for want of which, it

is almost a Miracle, that the *Bourbon* Family hath not possessed the universal Monarchy by Right of Inheritance? When the *French* assert a Proximity of Blood gives a divine Right, as some of their Ministers, who ought to be more wise or honest, have lately advanced in this very Case, to the Title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a *French* Succession, make their own Kings Usurpers? Or, if the Salique Law be divine, is it not of universal Obligation, and consequently of Force, to exclude *France* from inheriting by Daughters? Or, lastly, if that law be of human Institution, may it not be enacted in any State, with whatever Extent or Limitation the Legislature shall think fit? For the Notion of an unchangeable human Law is an Absurdity in Government, to be believed only by Ignorance, and supported by Power. From hence it follows, that the Children of the late Queen of *France*, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to *Spain*, as if the Salique Law had been fundamental in that Kingdom; since that Exclusion was established by every Power in *Spain*, which could possibly give a Sanction to any Law there; and therefore the Duke of *Anjou's* Title is wholly founded upon the Bequest of his Predecessor (which hath great Authority in that Monarchy, as it formerly had

had in our's), upon the Confirmation of the Cortes, and the general Consent of the People.

It is certain, the Faith of Princes is so frequently subservient to their Ambition, that Renunciations have little Validity, otherwise than from the Powers and Parties whose Interest it is to support them. But this Renunciation, which the Queen hath exacted from the *French* King and his Grandson, I take it to be armed with all the essential Circumstances that can fortify such an Act. For as it is necessary, for the Security of every Prince in *Europe*, that those two great Kingdoms should never be united; so the Chief among them will readily consent to be Guarantees for preventing such a Misfortune.

BESIDES, this Proposal (according to her Majesty's Expression in her Speech) is of such a Nature, that it executes itself; because the *Spaniards*, who dread such an Union, for every Reason that can have Weight among Men, took Care that their King should not only renounce, in the most solemn Manner; but likewise, that the Act should be framed in the strongest Terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to *France*, upon Supposal of the young Dauphin's dying in a few Years, that Kingdom will not be in a Condition to engage in a long War against a powerful Alliance, fortified
with

with the Addition of the *Spaniards*, and the Party of the Duke of *Berry*, or whoever else shall be next claimer; and the longer the present Dauphin lives, the weaker must *Philip's* Interest be in *France*; because the Princes, who are to succeed by this Renunciation, will have most Power and Credit in the Kingdom.

The Mischiefs occasioned by the Want of a good Understanding between the Allies, especially *Britain* and *Holland*, were raised every Day; the *French* taking the Advantage, and raising Difficulties, not only upon the general Plan of Peace, but likewise upon the Explanation of several Articles in the projected Treaty between them and her Majesty: They insisted to have *Lisle*, as the Equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, and *Condé*, for the two or three Towns mentioned in the Queen's Speech; which the *British* Plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to confer with those of *France* upon that Foot; although, at the same Time, the former had fresh Apprehensions that the *Dutch*, in a Fit of Despair, would accept whatever Terms the Enemy pleased to offer, and, by precipitating their own Peace, prevent her Majesty from obtaining any Advantages, both for her Allies and herself.

It is most certain, that the repeated Losses suffered by the States, in little more than

than two Months after they had withdrawn themselves from the Queen's Assistance, did wholly disconcert their Counsels; and their Prudence (as it is usual) began to forsake them with their Good-fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their Friends in *England*; who continued to give them Hopes of some mighty and immediate Resource from hence; for when the Duke of *Ormond* had been about a Month in *Ghent*, he received a Letter from the Marechal *de Villars*, to inform him, that the *Dutch* Generals, taken at *Denain*, had told the Marechal publickly, of a sudden Revolution expected in *Britain*; that particularly the Earl of *Albemarle* and *Monf. Hompesch* discoursed very freely of it, and that nothing was more commonly talked of in *Holland*. It was then likewise confidently reported in *Ghent*, that the Queen was dead; and we all remember what Rumour flew about here at the very same Time, as if her Majesty's Health were in a bad Condition.

WHETHER such vain Hopes as these gave Spirit to the *Dutch*; whether their frequent Misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to overreach us by some private Stipulations with *France*, thro' the Mediation of the Elector of *Bavaria*, as that Prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the Cause, they

they utterly refused a Cessation of Arms; and made not the least Return to all the Advances and Invitations made by her Majesty, until the Close of the Campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their Affairs in another Light; to consider how little the vast Promises of Count *Zinzendorf* were to be relied on; to be convinced that *France* was not disposed to break with her Majesty, only to gratify their Ill-humour, or unreasonable Demands; to discover that their factious Correspondents on this Side the Water, had shamefully misled them; that some of their own principal Towns grew heartily weary of the War, and backward in their Loans, and, lastly, that Prince *Eugene*, their new General, whether his Genius or Fortune had left him, was not for their Turn. They, therefore, directed their Ministers at *Utrecht* to signify to the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of *Strafford*, “ That
 “ the States were disposed to comply with
 “ her Majesty, and to desire her good Offices with *France*; particularly, that *Tour-*
 “ *nay* and *Condé* might be left to them
 “ as Part of their Barrier, without which
 “ they could not be safe: That the Elector
 “ of *Bavaria* might not be suffered to retain any Town in the *Netherlands*, which
 “ would be as bad for *Holland* as if those
 “ Places were in the Hands of *France*:
 “ Therefore the States proposed, that
 “ *Luxembourg*,

“ *Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroy, and Nieuport*, might be delivered to the Emperor. Lastly, That the *French* might not insist on excepting the four Species of Goods out of the Tariff of 1664: That if her Majesty could prevail with *France* to satisfy their Masters on these Articles, they would be ready to submit in all the rest.”

When the Queen received an Account of this good Disposition in the States General, immediately Orders were sent to Mr. *Prior*, to inform the Ministers of the *French* Court, “ That her Majesty had now some Hopes of the *Dutch* complying with her Measures, and therefore she resolved, as she had always declared, whenever those Allies came to themselves, not to make the Peace without their reasonable Satisfaction.” The Difficulty that most pressed, was about the Disposal of *Tournay* and *Condé*. The *Dutch* insisted strongly to have both, and the *French* were extremely unwilling to part with either.

THE Queen judged the former would suffice, for completing the Barrier of the States. Mr. *Prior* was therefore directed to press the Marquis *de Torcy* effectually on this Head, and to terminate all that Minister’s Objections, by assuring him of her Majesty’s Resolutions to appear openly on the Side of the *Dutch*, if this Demand were

were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute Manner with *France*, whose late Success, against *Holland*, had taught the Ministers of the most Christian King to resume their old imperious Manner of treating with that Republick ; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill Understanding between her Majesty and the Allies.

THIS appeared from the Result of an idle Quarrel that happened, about the End of *August*, at *Utrecht*, between a *French* and a *Dutch* Plenipotentiary, *Mons. Mesnager* and Count *Rechteren* ; wherein the Court of *France* demanded such abject Submissions, and with so much Haughtiness, as plainly shewed they were pleased with any Occasion of mortifying the *Dutch*.

Besides, the Politicks of the *French* ran at this Time very opposite to those of *Britain* : They thought the Ministers here durst not meet the Parliament without a Peace ; and that, therefore, her Majesty would either force the States to comply with *France*, by delivering up *Tournay*, which was the principal Point in Dispute, or would finish her own Peace with *France* and *Spain*, leaving a fixed Time for *Holland* to refuse or accept the Terms imposed on them. But the Queen, who thought the Demand of *Tournay* by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against

gainst *France*, rather than suffer her Ally to want a Place so useful for their Barrier. And Mr. *Prior* was ordered to signify this Resolution of her Majesty to Mons. *de Torcy*, in case that Minister could not be otherwise prevailed on.

The *British* Plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same Time, express to those of *Holland* her Majesty's great Satisfaction, that the States were at last disposed to act in Confidence with her : " That she wished this Resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the Delay, but the *French* King ; that, however, her Majesty did not question the procuring a safe and honourable Peace, by united Councils, reasonable Demands, and prudent Measures ; that she would assist them in getting whatever was necessary to their Barrier, and in settling, to their Satisfaction, the Exceptions made by *France* out of the Tariff of 1664 ; that no other Difficulties remained of Moment to retard the Peace, since the Queen had obtained *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy* ; and, in the Settlement of the *Low Countries*, would adhere to what she delivered from the Throne : That as to the Empire, her Majesty heartily wished their Barrier as good as could be desired ; but that we were not now in Circumstances to expect every Thing exactly according to the Scheme of *Holland* : *France* had already offered a great Part, and the Queen
did

did not think the Remainder worth the Continuance of the War."

HER Majesty conceived the Peace in so much forwardness, that she thought fit, about this Time, to nominate the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Lord *Lexington* for Ambassadors in *France* and *Spain*, to receive the Renunciations in both Courts, and adjust Matters of Commerce.

The Duke was preparing for his Journey, when he was challenged to a duel by the Lord *Mobun*, a Person of infamous Character. He killed his Adversary upon the Spot, tho' he himself received a Wound; and, weakened by the Loss of Blood, as he was leaning in the Arms of his Second, was most barbarously stabbed in the Breast by Lieutenant-general *Macartney*, who was Second to Lord *Mobun*. He died a few Minutes after in the Field, and the Murderer made his escape. I thought so surprising an Event might deserve barely to be related, although it be something foreign to my subject.

The Earl of *Strafford*, who had come to *England* in last, in order to give her Majesty an Account of the Disposition of Affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with her last Instructions, to let the *Dutch* Minister know, " That some Points would probably meet with difficulties not to be overcome, which once might have been easily obtained. To shew what evil Consequences

“ sequences had already flowed from their
 “ Delay and Irresolution, and to intreat
 “ them to fix on some Proposition, reason-
 “ able in itself, as well as possible to be
 “ effected: That the Queen would insist
 “ upon the cession of *Tournay* by *France*,
 “ provided the States would concur in fi-
 “ nishing the Peace, without starting new
 “ Objections, or insisting upon farther
 “ Points: That the *French* Demands, in
 “ Favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*, ap-
 “ peared to be such as, the Queen was of
 “ Opinion, the States ought to agree to;
 “ which were, to leave the Elector in Pos-
 “ session of *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, and *Char-*
 “ *leroy*, subject to the Terms of their Bar-
 “ rier, until he should be restored to his
 “ Electorate; and to give him the King-
 “ dom of *Sardinia* to efface the stain of his
 “ Degradation in the Electoral College:
 “ That the Earl had brought over a Pro-
 “ ject of a new Treaty of Succession and
 “ Barrier, which her Majesty insisted the
 “ States should sign, before the Conclu-
 “ sion of the Peace; the former Treaty
 “ having been disadvantageous to her Sub-
 “ jects, containing in it the Seeds of future
 “ Diffensions, and condemned by the Sense
 “ of the Nation. Lastly, That her Majesty,
 “ notwithstanding all Provocations, had,
 “ for the Sake of the *Dutch*, and in Hopes
 “ of their Recovery from those false Notions
 “ which had so long misled them, hitherto
 “ kept

“ kept the Negotiations open : That the
 “ Offers now made them were her last,
 “ and this the last Time she would apply
 “ to them : That they must either agree,
 “ or expect the Queen would proceed
 “ immediately to conclude her Treaty
 “ with *France* and *Spain*, in Conjunction
 “ with such of her Allies as would think fit
 “ to adhere to her.

“ As to *Savoy*, that the Queen expected
 “ the States would concur with her in
 “ making Good the Advantages stipulated
 “ for that Duke, and in prevailing with
 “ the Emperor to consent to an absolute
 “ Neutrality in *Italy*, until the Peace should
 “ be concluded.”

THE governing Party in *Holland*, how-
 ever in Appearance disposed to finish, af-
 fected new Delays, and raised many Diffi-
 culties about the four Species of Goods,
 which the *French* had excepted out of the
 Tariff. Count *Zinzendorf*, the Emperor's
 Plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to
 keep up this Humour in the *Dutch*, in
 Hopes to put them under a Necessity of
 preparing for the next Campaign ; and
 sometime after went so far in this Pursuit,
 that he summoned the several Ministers of
 the Empire, told them he had Letters from
 his Master, with Orders to signify to them,
 “ That his Imperial Majesty resolved to
 “ begin the Campaign early, with all his
 “ Forces united against *France* ; of which
 “ he

“ he desired they would send Notice to all
 “ their Courts, that the several Princes
 “ might be ready to furnish their Contin-
 “ gents and Recruits.” At the same Time
Zinzendorf endeavoured to borrow two Mil-
 lions of Florins upon the Security of some
 Imperial Cities ; but could not succeed ei-
 ther amongst the Jews or at *Amsterdam*.

WHEN the Earl of *Strafford* arrived at
Utrecht, the Lord Privy-seal and he com-
 municated to the *Dutch* Ministers the new
 Treaty for a Succession and Barrier, as the
 Queen had ordered it to be prepared here
 in *England*, differing from the former in
 several Points of the greatest Moment,
 obvious to any who will be at the Pains to
 compare them. This was strenuously op-
 posed for several Weeks by the Plenipoten-
 tiaries of the States ; but the Province of
Utrecht, where the Congress was held, im-
 mediately sent Orders to their Represen-
 tatives at the *Hague*, to declare their Pro-
 vince thankful to the Queen ; that they a-
 greed the Peace should be made on the
 Terms proposed by *France*, and consented
 to the new projected Treaty of Barrier and
 Succession : And about the Close of the
 Year 1712, four of the seven Provinces,
 had delivered their Opinions for putting an
 End to the War.

This unusual Precipitation in the States,
 so different from the whole Tenour of
 their former Conduct, was very much sus-
 pected

pected by the *British* Plenipotentiaries. Their Lordships had received Intelligence, that the *Dutch* Ministers held frequent Conferences with those of *France*, and had offered to settle their Interests with that Crown, without the Concurrence of *Britain*. Count *Zinzendorf*, and his Colleagues, appeared likewise, all on a sudden, to have the same Dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several Differences with the States. The Reasons for this Proceeding were visible enough; many Difficulties were yet undetermined in the Treaty of Commerce between her Majesty and *France*, for the adjusting of which, and some other Points, the Queen had lately dispatched the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to that Court. Some of these were of hard Digestion, with which the most Christian King would not be under a Necessity of complying, when he had no farther Occasion for us, and might upon that Account, afford better Terms to the other two Powers. Besides the Emperor and the States could very well spare her Majesty the Honour of being Arbitrator of a general Peace; and the latter hoped by this Means, to avoid the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the Consequences of this Evil, there fortunately fell out an Incident which the two Lords at *Utrecht* knew well to make Use of: The Quarrel between
 Monf.

Monf. *Mefnager* and Count *Rechteren* (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing in some Circumstances, about the Satisfaction to be given by the Count for the Affront he had offered, the *British* Plenipotentiaries kept this Dispute on Foot for several Days; and, in the mean Time, pressed the *Dutch* to finish the new Treaty of Barrier and Succession between her Majesty and them, which, about the Middle of *January*, was concluded fully to the Queen's Satisfaction.

But while these Debates and Differences continued at the Congress, the Queen resolved to put a speedy End to her Part in the War; she therefore sent Orders to the Lord Privy-seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, to prepare every Thing necessary for signing her own Treaty with *France*. This she hoped might be done against the Meeting of her Parliament, now prorogued to the third of *February*; in which Time, those among the Allies, who were really inclined towards a Peace, might settle their several Interests by the Assistance and Support of her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries; and as for the rest, who would either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the Negotiation, the Heads of their respective Demands, which *France* had yielded by her Majesty's Intervention, and agreeable to the Plan laid down in her Speech, should be mentioned in the Treaty, and a Time limited for the
several

several Powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The Pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon some Difficulties alledged by the *French*, about procuring him a safe Conduct to *Bar-le-duc*, in the Duke of *Lorraine's* Dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The Queen, altogether bent upon quieting the Minds of her Subjects, declared, she would not sign the Peace till that Person were removed; although several wise Men believed he could be no where less dangerous to *Britain*, than in the Place where he was.

The Argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new Treaty of Barrier and Succellion with *Britain*, was her Majesty's Promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*; after which, no more Differences remained between us and that Republick, and consequently they had no farther Temptations to any separate transactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty Manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The Satisfaction they extorted for the Affront given by Count *Rechteren* to *Monf. Mesnager*, although somewhat softened by the *British* Ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet so rigorous, that her Majesty could not forbear signifying her Resentment of it to the most Christian King. *Monf. Mesnager*, who seemed to have more the Genius of a Merchant

chant than a Minister, began, in his Conferences with the Plenipotentiaries of the States, to raise new Disputes upon Points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The Abbé *de Polignac*, a most accomplished Person, of great Generosity and universal Understanding was gone to *France* to receive the Cardinal's Cap; and the Marechal *de Huxelles* was wholly guided by his Colleague, Moni. *Mesnager*, who kept up those Brangles, that for a Time obstructed the Peace; some of which were against all Justice, and others of small Importance, both of very little Advantage to his Country, and less to the Reputation of his Master or himself. This low Talent in Business, which the Cardinal *de Polignac* used, in Contempt, to call a *Spirit of Negotiating*, made it impossible for the two Lords, Plenipotentiaries, with all their Abilities and Experience, to bring *Mesnager* to Reason, in several Points both with us and the States: his Concessions were few and constrained, serving only to render him more tenacious of what he refused. In several of the Towns, which the States were to keep, he insisted that *France* should retain the Chatellanies, or Extent of Country depending on them, particularly that of *Tournay*; a Demand the more unjustifiable, because he knew his Master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a Court in his Kingdom, where

N

his

his own Judges extended the Territories about those Towns he had taken, as far as he pleased to direct them. *Monf. Mefnager* shewed equal Obstinacy in what his Master expected for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and in refusing the Tariff of 1664: So that the Queen's Plenipotentiaries represented these Difficulties as what might be of dangerous Consequence, both to the Peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

UPON these Considerations her Majesty thought it her shortest and safest Course to apply directly to *France*, where she had then so able a Minister as the Duke of *Sbrewsbury*.

THE Marquis *de Torcy*, Secretary to the most Christian King, was the Minister with whom the Duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his Master to apply to the Queen for a Peace, in Opposition to a violent Faction in that Kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the War, as any other could be either here or in *Holland*.

IT would be very unlike an Historian, to refuse this great Minister the Praise he so justly deserveth, of having treated, through the whole Course of so great a Negotiation, with the utmost Candour and Integrity; never once failing in any Promise he made, and tempering a firm Zeal to his Master's Interest, with a ready Compliance to what

was

was reasonable and just. Mr. *Prior*, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at *Paris*, with the Character of Minister-Plenipotentiary, and was very acceptable to that Court, upon the Score of his Wit and Humour.

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* was directed to press the *French* Court upon the Points yet unsettled in the Treaty of Commerce between both Crowns; to make them drop their unreasonable Demands for the Elector of *Bavaria*; to let them know, that the Queen was resolved not to forsake her Allies who were now ready to come in; that she thought the best Way of hastening the general Peace, was to determine her own particular one with *France*, until which Time she could not conveniently suffer her Parliament to meet.

THE States were, by this Time, so fully convinced of the Queen's Sincerity and Affection to their Republick, and how much they had been deceived by the Insinuations of the factious Party in *England*, that they wrote a very humble Letter to her Majesty, to desire her Assistance towards settling those Points they had in Dispute with *France*, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever Explanation her Majesty would please to make of the Plan proposed in her Speech to the Parliament.

BUT the Queen had already prevented their Desires; and in the Beginning of *February*,

ary, 1712-13, directed the Duke of *Shrewsbury* to inform the *French* Court, “ That
 “ since she had prevailed on her Allies, the
 “ *Dutch*, to drop the Demand of *Condé*, and
 “ the other of the four Species of Goods,
 “ which the *French* had excepted out of
 “ the Tariff of 1664, she would not sign
 “ without them: That she approved of the
 “ *Dutch* insisting to have the Chatellanies re-
 “ stored, with the Towns, and was resolved
 “ to stand or fall with them, until they were
 “ satisfied in this Point.”

HER Majesty had some Apprehensions, that the *French* created these Difficulties on Purpose to spin out the Treaty, until the Campaign should begin. They thought it absolutely necessary, that our Parliament should meet in a few Weeks, which could not well be ventured, until the Queen were able to tell both Houses, that her own Peace was signed: That this would not only facilitate what remained in Difference between *Britain* and *France*, but leave the *Dutch* entirely at the Mercy of the latter.

THE Queen, weary of these refined Mistakes in the *French* Politicks, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate Orders to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, to let *France* know, “ That her
 “ Majesty had hitherto prorogued her Par-
 “ liament, in Hopes of accommodating the
 “ Difficulties in her own Treaties of Peace
 “ and Commerce with that Crown, as well

“ as settling the Interests of her several Al-
 “ lies; or, at least, that the Differences in
 “ the former being removed, the most
 “ Christian King would have made such
 “ Offers for the latter, as might justify her
 “ Majesty in signing her own Peace, whe-
 “ ther the Confederates intended to sign
 “ their’s or no. But several Points being
 “ yet unfinished between both Crowns, and
 “ others between *France* and the rest of
 “ the Allies, especially the States, to which
 “ the Plenipotentiaries of that Court at
 “ *Utrecht* had not thought fit to give Satis-
 “ faction; the Queen was now come to a
 “ final Determination, both with Relation
 “ to her own Kingdoms, and to the whole
 “ Alliance: That the Campaign approach-
 “ ing, she would not willingly be surpris-
 “ ed in case the War was to go on: That
 “ she had transmitted to the Duke of
 “ *Shrewsbury* her last Resolutions, and never
 “ would be prevailed on to reduce her own
 “ Demands, or those of her Allies, any
 “ lower than the Scheme now sent over,
 “ as an Explanation of the Plan laid down
 “ in her Speech: That her Majesty had
 “ sent Orders to her Plenipotentiaries at
 “ *Utrecht*, to assume the Character of Am-
 “ bassadors, and sign the Peace immediately
 “ with the Ministers of the most Christian
 “ King, as soon as the Duke of *Shrewsbury*
 “ should have sent them Notice that the
 “ *French* had complied: That the Queen
 N 3 “ had.

“ had therefore farther prorogued her Par-
 “ liament to the third of *March*, in hopes
 “ to assure them, by that Time, of her
 “ Peace being agreed on; for if the two
 “ Houses should meet, while any Uncer-
 “ tainty remained, Supplies must be asked
 “ as for a War.”

THE Duke of *Shrewsbury* executed this
 important Commission with that Speed and
 Success, which could only be expected from
 an able Minister. The *French* King imme-
 diately yielded to the whole Scheme her
 Majesty proposed; whereupon Directions
 were sent to the Lord Privy-seal, and the
 Earl of *Strafford*, to sign a Peace between
Great-Britain and *France*, without Delay.

Upon the second Day of *March*, the two
British Plenipotentiaries met those of the
 Allies in the Town-house at *Utrecht*; where
 the Lord Privy-seal addressed himself to
 them in a short Speech, “ That the Ne-
 “ gociation had now continued fourteen
 “ Months with great slowness, which had
 “ proved very injurious to the Interests of
 “ the Allies: That the Queen had staid
 “ thus long, and stopped the finishing her
 “ own Peace, rather than leave her Allies in
 “ any Uncertainty: That she hoped they
 “ would now be all prepared to put an End
 “ to this great Work; and therefore had
 “ commanded her Plenipotentiaries to tell
 “ those of the Allies, That she found it
 “ necessary to conclude her own Treaty im-
 mediately;

“ mediately ; and it was her Opinion, that
 “ the Confederates ought to finish theirs at
 “ the same Time, to which they were now
 “ accordingly invited by her Majesty’s Or-
 “ ders.” And lastly, his Lordship declared,
 in the Queen’s Name, “ That whoever
 “ could not be ready on the Day prefixed,
 “ should have a convenient Time allowed
 “ them to come in.”

Although the Orders sent by the Queen to her Plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their Lordships did not precipitate the Performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a Day for the signing as they conveniently could ; but, however, the particular Day was left to their Discretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and most of the other Allies, to conclude at the same Time with the Queen : which, as it would certainly be more popular to their Country, so they conceived it would be more safe for themselves : Besides, upon looking over their Commission, a Scruple sprang in their Minds, that they could not sign a particular Peace with *France*; their Powers, as they apprehended, authorising them only to sign a general one. Their Lordships therefore sent to *England* to desire new Powers, and, in the mean Time, employed themselves with great Industry, between the Ministers of *France* and those of the several Allies, to find some Expedient for smoothing the Way to an Agreement among them.

THE

THE Earl of *Strafford* went for a few Days to the *Hague*, to inform the States of her Majesty's exprefs Commands to his Colleague and himself, for signing the Peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same Time, which the Pensionary promised; and that their Plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great Contentment of Monsr. *Buys*, who was now so much altered, either in Reality, or Appearance, that he complained to the Earl of Monsr. *Heinsius's* Slowness; and charged all the Delays and Mismanagements of a Twelve-month past, to that Minister's Account.

While the Earl of *Strafford* staid at the *Hague*, he discovered that an Emissary of the Duke of *Marlborough's* had been there some Days before, sent by his Grace to dissuade the *Dutch* from signing at the same Time with the Ministers of the Queen, which, in *England*, would at least have the Appearance of a separate Peace, and oblige their *British* Friends, who knew how to turn so short a Delay to very good Account, as well as gratify the Emperor; on whom, it was alledged, they ought to rely much more than on her Majesty. One of the States likewise told the Earl, " That the
" same Person, employed by the Duke, was
" then in Conference with the Magistrates
" of *Rotterdam* (which Town had declared
" for

“ for the Continuance of the War), to assure them, if they would hold off a little, they should see an unexpected Turn in the *British* Parliament: That the Duke of *Marlborough* had a List of the discontented Members in both Houses, who were ready to turn against the Court; and, to crown all, that his Grace had certain Intelligence of the Queen being in so ill a State of Health, as made it impossible for her to live above six Weeks.” So restless and indefatigable is Avarice and Ambition, when inflamed by a Desire of Revenge.

But Representations, which had been so often tried, were now offered too late. Most of the Allies, except the Emperor, were willing to put an End to the War upon her Majesty's Plan; and the further Delay of three Weeks must be chiefly imputed to that litigious Manner of treating, peculiar to the *French*; whose Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* insisted with Obstinacy upon many Points, which at *Paris* *Mont. de Torcy* had given up.

THE Emperor expected to keep all he already possessed in *Italy*; that *Portlongue*, on the *Tuscan* Coast, should be delivered to him by *France*; and lastly, that he should not be obliged to renounce *Spain*. But the Queen, as well as *France*, thought that his Imperial Majesty ought to sit down contented

tented with his Partage of *Naples* and *Milan*; and to restore those Territories in *Italy*, which he had taken from the rightful Proprietors, and by the Possession of which he was grown dangerous to the *Italian* Princes, by reviving antiquated Claims upon them.

THIS Prince had likewise objected to her Majesty's Expedient of suffering the Elector of *Bavaria* to retain *Luxembourg*, under certain Conditions, by Way of Security, until his Electorate were restored. But the Queen, supposing that these affected Delays were intended only with a View of continuing the War, resolved to defer the Peace no longer on the Emperor's Account.

In the Middle of *March*, 1712-13, a Courier arrived at *Utrecht* from *France*, with the Plan of a general Peace, as it had been agreed between the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and *Monf. de Torcy*; wherein every particular, relating to the Interests and Pretensions of the several Allies, was brought so near to what each of them would accept, that the *British* Plenipotentiaries hoped the Peace would be general in ten or twelve Days. The *Portuguese* and *Dutch* were already prepared, and others were daily coming in, by Means of their Lordship's good Offices, who found *Monf. Mesnager* and his Colleague very stubborn to the last. Another Courier was dispatched to *France*, upon some Disputes

putes about inserting the Titles of her Majesty and the most Christian King, and to bring a general Plan for the Interests of these Allies, who should not be ready against the Time prefixed. The *French* Renunciations were now arrived at *Utrecht*, and it was agreed, that those, as well as that of the King of *Spain*, should be inserted at Length in every Treaty, by which Means the whole Confederacy would become Guaranties of them.

THE Courier, last sent to *France*, returned to *Utrecht* on the twenty-seventh of *March*, with the Concessions of that Court upon every necessary Point; so that, all Things being ready for putting a Period to this great and difficult Work, the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of *Strafford* gave Notice to the Ministers of the several Allies, " That their Lordships had appointed *Tuesday* the thirty-first Instant, wherein to sign " a Treaty of Peace, and a Treaty of Commerce, between the Queen of *Great Britain*, their Mistress, and the most Christian King; and hoped the said Allies would " be prepared, at the same Time, to follow " their Example." Accordingly their Lordships employed the three intervening Days, in smoothing the few Difficulties that remained between the *French* Ministers and those of the several confederate Powers.

THE

THE important Day being now come, the Lord Bishop of *Bristol* and the Earl of *Strafford*, having assumed the Character of Ambassadors extraordinary, gave a Memorial in Behalf of the *French* Protestants to the Marechal de *Huxelles* and his Colleague, who were to transmit it to their Court; and these delivered to the *British* Ambassadors a Declaration in Writing, that the Pretender was actually gone out of *France*.

THE Conditions of Peace to be allowed the Emperor and the Empire, as adjusted between *Britain* and *France*, were now likewise delivered to the Count *Zinzendorf*. These and some other previous Matters of smaller Consequence being finished, the Treaties of Peace and Commerce between her Majesty of Great *Britain* and the most Christian King, were signed at the Lord Privy-seal's House between two and three of the Clock in the Afternoon. The Ministers of the Duke of *Savoy* signed about an hour after. Then the Assembly adjourned to the Earl of *Strafford*'s, where they all went to Dinner; and about nine at Night the Peace was signed by the Ministers of *Portugal*, by those of *Prussia* at eleven, and when it was near Midnight by the States.

Thus after all the Opposition raised by a strong Party in *France*, and by a virulent Faction in *Britain*; after all the Artifices of those who presided at the *Hague*, and,
for

for their private Interest, endeavoured, in Conjunction with their Friends in *England*, to prolong the War ; after the restless Endeavours of the Imperial Court to render the Treaty ineffectual ; the firm steady Conduct of the *Queen*, the Wisdom and Courage of her Ministry, and the Abilities of those whom she employed in her Negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a Peace signed in one Day by every Power concerned, except that of the Emperor and the Empire ; for his Imperial Majesty liked his Situation too well to think of a Peace, while the Drudgery and Expences of the War lay upon other Shoulders, and the Advantages were to redound only to himself.

During this whole Negotiation, the King of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the Confederates, had consequently no Minister at *Utrecht* ; but the Differences between her Majesty and that Prince were easily settled by the Lord *Lexington* at *Madrid*, and the Marquis of *Monteleon* here ; so that upon the Duke *D'Offuna's* Arrival at the Congress, some Days after the Peace, he was ready to conclude a Treaty between the *Queen* and his Master. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other Ally, except the Emperor, will encounter any Difficulties of Moment, to retard their several Treaties with his Catholick Majesty.

O

The

The Treaties of Peace and Commerce between *Britain* and *France*, were ratified here on the seventh of *April*; on the twenty-eighth the Ratifications were exchanged; and on the fifth of *May* the Peace was proclaimed in the usual Manner, but with louder Acclamations, and more extraordinary Rejoicings of the People, than had ever been remembred on the like Occasion.

F I N I S.

The following Letters were never before published in this Kingdom.

*A Monsieur Monsieur HUNTER, Gentilhomme
Anglois, à Paris.*

London, Jan. 12, 1708-9.

S I R,

I KNOW no People so ill used by your Men of Business, as their intimate Friends. About a Fortnight after Mr. ADDISON had received the Letter you were pleased to send me, he first told me of it with an Air of Recollection, and after ten further of Grace, thought fit to give it me; so you know where to fix the whole Blame that it was no sooner acknowledged. It is a delicate Expedient you Prisoners have, of diverting yourselves in an Enemy's Country, for which other Men would be hanged. I am considering whether there be no Way of disturbing your Quiet, by writing some dark Matter, that may give the *French* Court a Jealousy of you. I suppose, Monsieur CHAMILLARD, or some of his Commissaries, must have this Letter interpreted

P

to

to them, before it cometh to your Hands; and therefore, I here think good to warn them, that if they exchange you under six of their Lieutenant-Generals, they will be Losers by the Bargain. But that they may not mistake me, I do not mean as *Viceroy de Virginia, mais comme le Colonel HUNTER*. I would advise you to be very tender of your Honour, and not fall in Love; because I have a Scruple, whether you can keep your Parole, if you become a Prisoner to the Ladies; at least, it will be a Scandal for a *Free Briton* to drag two Chains at once. I presume, you have the Liberty of *Paris*, and fifty Miles round, and have a very light Pair of Fetters, contrived to ride or dance in, and see *Versailles*, and every Place else, except * *St. Germain*s.——I hear the Ladies call you already *Nôtre Prisonnier HUNTER le plus bonnête Garçon du Monde*.——Will you *French* yet own us *Britons* to be a brave People? Will they allow the Duke of *Marlborough* to be a great General? Or, are they all as partial as their Gazetteers? Have you yet met any *French* Colonel whom you remember to have formerly knocked from his Horse, or shivered, at least, a Launce against his Breast-Plate? Do you know the Wounds you have given when you see the Scars? Do

* Then the Place of Residence of the Queen Dowager of King JAMES II. and the PRETENDER.

you

you salute your old Enemies with *Stetimus tela aspera contra, contulimusque manus*. Vous s^{avez} que — Monsieur d' ADDISON, v^{otre} bon Ami, est fait Secrétaire d' Etat d' Irlande; and unless you make haste over, and get me my *Virginian* Bishoprick, he will persuade me to go with him, for the * *Vienna* Project is off, which is a great Disappointment to the Design I had of displaying my Politics at the Emperor's Court. I do not like the Subject you have assigned me to entertain you with. CRAUDER is sick, to the Comfort of all quiet People, and FRAUD is *Reveur à peindre*. Mr. ADDISON and I often drink your Health, and this Day I did it with WILL PATE, a certain Adorer of yours, who is both a *Bel Esprit* and a Woollen-Draper. The Whigs carry all before them, and how far they will pursue their Victories, we under-rate Whigs can hardly tell. I have not yet observed the Tories Noses; their Number is not to be learnt by telling of Noses, for every Tory hath not a Nose. — It is a Loss you are not here to partake of three Weeks Frost, and eat Ginger-bread in a Booth by a Fire upon the *Thames*. Mrs. FLOYD looked out with both her Eyes, and we had one Day's Thaw; but she drew in her Head, and it now freezeth as hard as ever. As for the

* Dr. SWIFT was to have gone Secretary to the *English* Embassy to the Imperial Court.

Convocation, the Queen thought fit to prorogue it, although at the Expence of Dr. ATTERBURY'S Displeasure, who was designed their Prolocutor, and is now raging at the Disappointment. I amuse myself sometimes with writing Verses to Mr. FINCH, and sometimes with Projects for uniting of Parties, which I perfect over Night, and burn in the Morning. Sometimes Mr. ADDISON and I steal to a pint of bad Wine, and wish for no third Person but you, who, if you were with us, would never be satisfied without three more. — You know, I believe, that poor * Dr. GREGORY is dead, and † KEIL soliciteth to be his Successor; but Party reacheth even to Lines and Circles, and he will hardly carry it, being reputed a Tory, which yet he utterly denieth. We are here nine Times madder after Operas than ever; and have got a new *Castrato* from *Italy*, called NICOLINI, who exceedeth VALENTINI, I know not how many Bars Length. Lord SOMMERS and HALLIFAX are as well as busy Statesmen can be in Parliament Time. Lord DORSET is Nobody's Favourite but your's and Mr. PRIOR's, who hath lately dedicated his

* A famous Mathematician, who published some Treatises on Astronomy.

† Another great Mathematician, who also published several Works in that Science and in Anatomy.

Book of Poems to him, which is all the Press hath furnished us, of any Value, since you went. Mr. PRINGLE, a Gentleman of Scotland, succeedeth Mr. ADDISON in the Secretary's Office; and Mr. SHUTE, a notable young Presbyterian Gentleman, under Thirty Years old, is made a Commissioner of the Customs. This is all I can think of either publick or private, worth telling you; perhaps you have heard Part or All of both from other Hands, but you must be content: Pray let us know what Hopes we have of seeing you, and how soon; and be so kind, or just, to believe me always

Your most faithful,

humble Servant,

JON. SWIFT.

P. S. Mr. STEELE presenteth his most humble Service to you; and I cannot forbear telling you of your *Mechanceté* to impute the Letter of Enthusiasm to me; when I have some good Reasons to think the Author is now at *Paris*.

*A Monsieur Monsieur HUNTER, Gentilhomme
Anglois à Paris.*

London, March 22, 1708-9.

S I R,

I AM very much obliged to you for the Favour of a kind Reproach you sent me, in a Letter to Mr. ADDISON, which he never told me of until this Day, and that accidentally; but I am glad at the same Time, that I did not deserve it, having sent you a long Letter, in return to that you was pleased to honour me with; and, it is a Pity it should be lost; for as I remember, it was full of the *Diei fabulas*, and such Particularities as do not usually find Place in News Papers. Mr. ADDISON hath been so taken up for some Mouths, in the amphibious Circumstances of premier C—— to my Lord SUNDERLAND; and Secretary of State for * *Ireland*, that he is the worst Man I know, either to convey an idle Letter, or deliver what he receiveth; so that I design, when I trust him with this, to give him a Memorial along with it; for, if my former hath miscarried, I am half persuaded to give him the Blame. I find

* Principal Secretary to the Earl of WHARTON, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

you

you a little lament your Bondage, and indeed in your Case it requireth a good Share of Philosophy: But if you will not be angry, I believe I may have been the Cause you are still a Prisoner, for I imagine my former Letter was intercepted by the *French* Court; when the Most Christian King reading one Passage in it, (and duly considering the Weight of the Person who wrote it) where I said, if the *French* King understood your Value as well as we do, he would not exchange you for Count TALLARD, and all the *Delris* of *Blenheim* together; for I must confess I did not rally when I said so.

I HEAR your good Sister, the Queen of *Pomunki*, waiteth with Impatience until you are restored to your Dominions; and that your Rogue of a Viceroy returneth Money fast for *England*, against the Time he must retire from his Government. Mean time * PHILIPS writeth Verses in a Sledge upon the frozen Sea, and transmits them hither, to thrive in our warmer Clime, under the Shelter of my Lord DORSET. I could send you a great deal of News from the *Republica Grubstreetaria*, which was never in greater Altitude, although I have been of late but a small Contributor. A Cargo of Splinters from the *Arabian* Rocks have been lately ship-wrecked in the *Thames*, to the

* AMBROSE PHILIPS, Esq; See his *Lapland* and other Pastorals in his Poems.

irreparable Damage of the Virtuosi. Mrs. LONG and I are fallen out, I shall not trouble you with the Cause, but do not you think her altogether in the Wrong? But Mrs. BARTER is still in my good Graces: I design to make her tell me when you are to be redeemed, and will send you Word. There it is now, you think I am in jest; but I assure you, the best Intelligence I get of publick Affairs is from Ladies, for the Ministers never tell me any Thing; and Mr. ADDISON is nine Times more secret to me than any Body else, because I have the Happiness to be thought his Friend. The Company at St. James's Coffee-house is as bad as ever, but it is not quite so good. The Beauties you left are all gone off this Frost, and we have got a new Set for Spring, of which Mrs. CHETWIND and Mrs. WORSLEY are the principal. The Vogue of Operas holdeth up wonderfully, altho' we have had them a Year; but I design to set up a Party among the Wits, to run them down by next Winter, if true *English* Caprice, doth not interpose to save us the Labour. Mademoiselle SPANHEIM is going to marry my Lord FITZHARDING, at least I have heard so; and if you find it otherwise at your Return, the Consequences may possibly be survived; however, you may tell it the *Paris Gazetteer*, and let me have the Pleasure to read a Lye of my own sending. I suppose you have heard that the Town
hath

hath lost an old Duke and recovered a mad Dutcheſs.—The Duke of MARLBOROUGH hath at length found an Enemy that dareth face him, and which he will certainly fly before, with the firſt Opportunity, and we are all of Opinion it will be his wiſeſt Courſe to do ſo. Now the Way to be prodigiously witty would be by keeping you in Suſpence, and not letting you know that this Enemy is nothing but the North-eaſt Wind, which ſtoppeth his Voyage to *Holland*. This Letter going in Mr. ADDISON's Pacquet, will, I hope, have better Luck than the former. I ſhall go for *Ireland* ſome time in Summer, being not able to make my Friends in the Miniſtry conſider my Merits, or their Promiſes, enough to keep me here, ſo that all my Hopes now terminate in my * Biſhoprick of *Virginia*; in the mean time I hold faſt my Claim to your Promiſe of correſponding with me, and that you will henceforward addreſs your Letter for me at Mr. † STEELE's Office at

* There was a Scheme on Foot at this Time, to make Dr. SWIFT Biſhop of *Virginia*, with a Power to ordain Priests and Deacons for all our Colonies in America, and to parcel out that Country into Deanaries, Pariſhes, Chapels, &c. and to recommend and preſent thereto, which would have been of the greateſt Uſe to the Proteſtant Religion in that Country had it taken Effect.

† Mr. STEELE, afterwards Sir RICHARD, was then Under Secretary of State.

the Cockpit, who hath promised his Care in conveying them. Mr. DOMVIL is now at Geneva, and sendeth me Word he is become a Convert to the Whigs, by observing the good and ill Effects of Freedom and Slavery abroad.

I AM now with Mr. ADDISON, with whom I have fifty Times drank your Health since you left us. He is hurrying away for Ireland, and I can at present lengthen my Letter no farther; and I am not certain whether you will hear from him or no, until he gets thither. However, he commandeth me to assure you of his humble Service, and I pray God too much Business may not spoil *Le plus bonnête Homme du Monde*; for it is certain, which, of a Man's good Talents he employeth on Business, must be detracted from his Conversation. I cannot write longer in so good Company, and therefore conclude.

Your most faithful,

and most humble Servant,

J. SWIFT.

THE

T H E

C R A F T S M A N.

No. 232.

SATURDAY, *Dec. 12, 1730.*

THE following Article, which hath lately appeared in the News-Papers, deserveth our immediate Consideration, *viz.*

“ THEY write from *Dublin*, that an Officer from every Regiment in the *French* Service is arrived there, in order to raise Recruits for their respective Corps; which is not to be done in a clandestine Manner, as formerly, (when several Persons suffered Death for it) but publickly. These Gentlemen are to disperse themselves into the several Counties, where they have the best Interest; and a Field Officer is to reside constantly at *Dublin* to hear all Complaints, which may be made by any of the Recruits against their Officers; and also to prepare for sending them off.—Count *Broglie* hath been soliciting an Order, to this Purpose, these two Years.

W H E N

WHEN I first read this Account in the publick Prints, I looked upon it as a common Piece of false Intelligence, and was in full Expectation of seeing it contradicted in the next Day's Papers, according to frequent Custom; but having since heard it confidently affirmed to be true (although I can hardly yet believe it; especially, as to every Part) the Duty, which I owe my Country, and my Zeal for the present Establishment, oblige me to take some Notice of an Affair, which I apprehend to be of very great Importance to both.

It will be necessary, in the first Place, to give the Reader a short Account of the Nature of these Troops, as they are now established in *France*.

THEY consist, as we have been informed, of one Regiment of Horse, and five Regiments of Foot, all doubly or trebly officered; so that they are, of themselves, a very considerable Body of Men.

BUT their Number is the least Point to be considered in this Affair. There are other Circumstances which render these Troops infinitely more formidable to *Great-Britain*. They are not only all Roman-Catholicks, but the most dangerous of that Communion, with respect to us. I mean Roman-Catholick Subjects of our own Dominions; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native Country on Account of Rebellions and Conspiracies, in which they have

have been engaged; and all of them devoted by Inclination, by Interest, by Conscience, by every Motive human and divine, to the Service of the Pretender, in Opposition to the Protestant Succession in his Majesty's Royal Family.

To this we may add, that they are generally esteemed the best Forces in the *French* Service; that they have always behaved themselves as such in the late Wars; and are commanded by Officers of approved Courage, as well as great Skill and Experience in military Affairs.

It is said likewise, that the Serjeants, Corporals, and private Men are so well seasoned to Danger, and expert in their Duty, that, by a gradual Promotion, they could furnish Officers for a very formidable Army, in case of any sudden Invasion or Insurrection.

In the next Place, it will not be improper to examine this Affair with Regard to our Laws.

It is made Felony, by Act of Parliament in *Ireland*, for any Subject of that Kingdom to enlist himself, or to enlist others, in the Service of any foreign State; and it is well known that Multitudes of poor Wretches have suffered Death upon that Account.

WE know it may be said, that a Power is reserved to his Majesty, by a Clause in that Act, to dispense with it, by granting
any

any foreign Prince a Licence to raise Forces in his Dominions, and in demnifying his Subjects from the Penalties of the Law.

ALTHOUGH it is far from my Intention to dispute any of his Majesty's legal Prerogatives, or to call the Wisdom of the Legislature in Question, yet I must take the Liberty to observe, that such Powers have been sometimes granted out of Complaisance to the Crown, that the Prince's Hands may not be absolutely tyed up, and in full Confidence that they will never be exerted but for the Benefit of this Nation, or possibly of some Protestant Ally, upon great Emergencies of State. The Exercise of the Prerogative, in these Cases, is therefore merely a prudential Part, which is left to the Discretion of the Prince and his Ministers, who ought always to be supposed the best Judges of these Affairs; and therefore how ridiculous would it be to send to the Attorney-General for his Opinion in such a Case, who can be a competent Judge of nothing but the Legality of it, and whether the Affair be actionable or not; but Ministers ought to regulate their Conduct, in these Respects, according to the Situation of Affairs, and the Exigencies of Government.

I MUST therefore beg Leave to consider the present Subject, of the *Irish* Forces, in this Light.

It will not be denied, I presume, that a Licence to recruit Roman-Catholick Regiments

giments of *English* Subjects, in foreign Service, and in the Interest of a Pretender to the Crown (which is Death by the Law, without his Majesty's Permission) is a Favour of a very extraordinary Nature, and ought to be attended with some extraordinary Circumstances. I confess that I can see no such extraordinary Circumstances at present; unless it should be said that this Favour was granted, in order to engage our good Allies in the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; but I hope they have more Generosity than to insist upon such hard Terms for the effectual Performance of that, which they are obliged by Treaty to do. I am sure, such Conditions seem unreasonable on our Part, after we have made them so many other Concessions; particularly with relation to the Flag and *Santa Lucia*; which, I think, are sufficient to make them comply with all our Demands, without expecting any farther Favours, and even Supererogations of Friendship.

PERHAPS my Adversaries (if they have any Conceit) may take an Opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this Strain; but as it sometimes serveth their Turn to make me a great Man, and to argue against me as such, I will for once suppose myself so; and, methinks, if I had the Honour of being but half an Hour in that Station, I could reason against such an Order, for the Good
of

of my King and my Country, in the following Manner :

1. These Troops have always been made use of, whenever there hath been any Attempt in Favour of the Pretender ; and indeed they are, upon many Accounts, the fittest for this Purpose. They are our Fellow-Subjects ; they speak our Language ; are acquainted with our Manners ; and do not raise that Aversion in the People, which they naturally conceive against other foreign Troops, who understand neither. I am afraid I may add, that they are kept up, for this Purpose, in entire Regiments, without suffering them to be mixed with the Troops of any other Nation. It is well known, at least, that they supplied the late King *James* with a Nursery of Soldiers, who were always ready for his Service, whenever any Opportunity offered itself for his Restoration ; and that, at this Time, the Pretender is always the Bait made use of by their Officers to raise Recruits. They never mention the King of *France*, or the King of *Spain*, upon these Occasions ; but list the poor Wretches under an Assurance, that they are entered into the Service of him, whom they call their natural and rightful King. I will not suspect the present Fidelity of *France*, and their Cordiality to the Protestant Establishment ; yet methinks we might easily excuse ourselves from furnishing them with Instruments, which they may

may employ against us, whenever Ambition, or Reason of State, shall dissolve their present Engagements, and induce them to espouse the Cause of the Pretender again.

2. It is very probable that his Catholick Majesty (who hath likewise several Regiments of this Kind in his Service) will expect the same Favour of recruiting them in *Ireland*; and that he may, in case of Refusal, make it a Pretence, at any Time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our Commerce, and disturbing us again in the Possession of *Gibraltar*; and here it is proper just to take Notice, that these Troops did his Catholick Majesty the most eminent Service in the last Siege of that important Place. He may complain, perhaps, of our Partiality to *France*, and alledge, that we do not treat *Spain* in the same Manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the most favoured Nations.

3. THE Kingdom of *Ireland* seemeth, at this Time, in a very ill Condition to admit of any such Draughts out of her Dominions. She hath been already so much exhausted by the voluntary Transportation of Multitudes of her Inhabitants, (who have been prevailed upon, by the Calamities of their own Country, to seek their Bread in other Parts of the World) that the Interposition of Parliament was found necessary to put a Stop to it; and shall we suffer any foreign Power to drain her still farther under

der such Circumstances; especially in this Manner, and for this Purpose? I do not hear that this Licence is confined to any particular Number of Men. It is confessed, I think, that they want above two thousand Men to compleat their Corps; and who knoweth but they may design to raise a great many more than they care to own; or even to form some new Regiments of these Troops? But supposing they are confined to a certain Number of Recruits, and that *Ireland* were in a Capacity to spare them; it is well known how easily such Limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when People conform exactly to the Terms of their Commission. This was sufficiently explained in the late famous Controversy, concerning Mr. *Wood's* Patent for supplying *Ireland* with a particular Sum of Copper Halfpence; and the Arguments upon that Subject may be applied to this, with some Allowances for the Difference between the two Cases. It may, perhaps, be said likewise, that all the Vigilance of the Ministry hath been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the *French* from clandestinely recruiting these Regiments with *Irish* Catholicks; and, therefore, that we may as well allow them to do it openly; nay, that it is our Interest to let them purge *Ireland* of her Popish Inhabitants as much as they please; but I deny this for several Reasons, which I shall mention presently; and if it

were

were really the Case, that the *French* can at any Time recruit these Troops clandestinely, I cannot see any Reason why they should solicit an Order so pressingly, for two Years together, to do it openly, unless they have some other Design. Ought not even this Consideration to put us a little upon our Guard; and is it not a tacit Confession, that these Troops are thought to be of more Importance to them than we ought to wish? Besides, are we to licence and authorise a mischievous Practice, because we cannot totally prevent it? Every one justly applauded his Majesty's singular Firmness and Resolution in supporting the Rights of his *German* Subjects, when an Attempt was made to seduce some of them into the King of *Prussia*'s Service, although perhaps it is impossible to prevent that Practice entirely. We all remember that the inlisting a Miller's Son, and a few other ordinary Peasants, occasioned such a Misunderstanding between the two Crowns, as proceeded almost to a Rupture. Nor was the Zeal of the *English* Parliament backward on this Occasion; but, on this Consideration, amongst others, resolved to keep up a Body of 12,000 *Hessian* Troops in our Pay, which have already cost us above a Million of Money. I am confident, therefore, that the same paternal Care will always influence his Majesty to guard and protect his *British* Subjects in the same Manner; and if any Measure should be

be taken, which favours too much of the *French* Interest, and seemeth of dangerous Consequence to the Interest of his Family, the World can impute it to nothing but the deceitful Representations of those, who lie under such particular Obligations to the Court of *France*, that they can refuse them nothing.

4. SUCH a Licence seemeth to give Encouragement to the People of *Ireland* to continue Roman-Catholicks; since they are sure to meet with a Provision both in the *French* and *Spanish* Service; whereas we always reject them in our Troops, and absolutely prohibit our Officers to recruit in *Ireland*. Now, although it may not be safe to trust them in our Armies; yet certainly we ought not to give the least Encouragement to their entering into foreign Service; especially into such compact Bodies as these Regiments: And here it will not be amiss to relate a Story much to the Honour of an *English* Nobleman, who hath also one of the largest Estates in *Ireland* of any Man in the Kingdom. When he went to visit the Invalids in *France*, a Place in the Nature of our *Chelsea* College here, all the *Irish* Officers and Soldiers of that Hospital drew out in a Body to do him particular Honours. We can make no Question that their chief View was to have some Present from his Lordship; but though he hath an Heart as well disposed to generous Charity

as any Man, and a Purse well able to answer the Dictates of it; yet out of Regard to his Country, for which he hath likewise the most disinterested Zeal, his Answer to them was only this: "Gentlemen, I am
"very sensible of the Honour you have
"done me, and heartily pity your Misfortunes; but as you have drawn them upon
"yourselves, by serving against your Country, you must not expect any Relief or
"Reward from me, for having suffered in
"a Service, in which I wish you had never
"engaged."

5. Is there not some Reason to apprehend that this Licence may, at one Time or other, prove a Snare to that Country, and draw many People into their Destruction; for, unless it is made perpetual, it cannot be supposed that all the poor ignorant Wretches in the Kingdom should be apprized how long this Licence is to be in Force; or when they may list with Impunity, and when they may not? Besides, as it may be presumed that these Officers will never go, for the future, upon such Errands, without some pretended Orders, when the real one is expired; so they will find it no difficult Matter to impose such a Counterfeit upon illiterate People; who may thus incur the Penalties of the Law, without knowing any Thing of the Matter. Such a Method of providing for Persons, whose Principles render them unserviceable in our Army, is indeed

deed a little more charitable than a late * Project for preventing *Irish* Children from being starved, by fattening them up, and selling them to the Butcher.

6. I HAVE often heard that these Troops have been made use of, in Parliament, as an Argument for keeping up a standing Army in *England*; and I think we need not take any Measures to render that Argument stronger. God knows, there are too many Arguments always ready upon such Occasions.

I MIGHT insist upon some other Points, which this Affair naturally suggesteth to a considering Mind; particularly the Danger of suffering several bigotted *Irish* Papists, in foreign Service, to disperse themselves into those Counties where they have the best Interest, and to stroll about *Ireland* amongst their Relations and old Acquaintance, of the same Principles with themselves. Are we sure that they will not make a bad Use of this Liberty, by enquiring into the Strength of their Party, by giving them Hopes, and taking an Opportunity to concert Measures for the Advantage of their Cause? Have we no Reason to apprehend that they may endeavour to raise Seamen as well as Soldiers, under Colour of this Order? Or engage great Numbers of their Countrymen to transport themselves over to the *French*

* See Vol. IV. of the Author's Works.

Colonies and Plantations in the *West-Indies*, which are already grown formidable to the trading Interest of *Great Britain* in those Parts?

BUT whatever may be the Motives to such an extraordinary Favour, or the Consequences of it, I am sure it is the strongest Mark of our Confidence in *France*, and such an one as, I believe, they would not place in us, upon any Occasion. I will illustrate this by a parallel Case.

THE *French* Protestants, who fled over hither from a Persecution on account of Religion, never discovered any Principles, which are incompatible with the Civil Government of *France*, nor ever set up any Pretender to the present Royal Family of that Kingdom; and yet, if we should think fit to form any considerable Number of them into compleat, distinct Regiments, to be composed of *French* Protestants only, and commanded by *French* Officers, without any Incorporation of *British* Soldiers; I fancy it would give our good Allies some Umbrage. But I am almost confident, that they would never permit us to send over a Protestant *French* Officer from every Regiment to recruit their respective Corps, by dispersing themselves into those Provinces where they have the best Interest; or suffer a Field Officer, in *English* Pay, to reside constantly in *Paris*, and exercise a Sort of martial Law in the Capital of their Dominions; I say
they

they would hardly suffer this, even though our Ambassador should solicit such an Order, with the utmost Application, for twenty Years together.

AND yet the Case of these *Irish* Forces is much stronger with respect to us. They do not differ with us only in Matters of Religion; but hold Principles absolutely destructive of our Civil Government; and are generally looked upon Abroad as a Standing Army, kept on Foot to serve the Pretender upon any Occasion.

I MUST ask a Question or two, which naturally offer themselves in this Place.

WHAT Power is this Field Officer to exercise during his Residence in *Dublin*? Is the *French* martial Law to take Place, if any of these Recruits should happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to desert?

TROOPS are generally armed as soon as they are listed. Is this Rule to be observed in the present Case? If so, another Question occurreth. It hath been found necessary, for the Security of *Ireland*, to restrain all Roman Catholicks from wearing or keeping any Arms in their Houses. I ask, therefore, whether the Authority of this Licence is to supersede the Laws of the Land? I may go farther.

THE Garrison of *Dublin* seldom consisteth of above 800 Men for the Duty of the Place. Supposing double that Number of Popish Recruits

Recruits should be brought thither, in order to be viewed by their Field Officer, will it be said that there is no just Apprehension of Danger? But as these Suggestions may appear to be founded on the Infidelity of *France* (a Case not to be supposed at present) I will press them no farther.

I MUST however repeat it, that this Order is the fullest Demonstration of the Confidence we repose in them; and I hope they will scorn to make any bad Use of it: But if it were possible to suspect that they could have any Design to play the Knave with us, they could not wish for a better Opportunity to promote it, than by such a Power as is now said to be put into their Hands.

I HOPE my Remarks on this Article of News will not be construed in a *Jacobite* Sense, even by the most prostitute Scribblers of the present Times; but I must beg Leave to expostulate a little with the Publick on that mean and infamous Practice, which these Writers have lately used, in explaining some of my Papers into treasonable Libels; taking an Occasion from hence to appear formally in Defence of the Throne, and laying it down, as a Point granted, that there is an actual, concerted Design, of setting aside the present Establishment. This is a Practice which may be of great Service to the real Enemies of the present Government; and every *Jacobite* in the Kingdom may make Use of it to publish the most explicit

Q

plicit Invectives on the King and his Government, under the Pretence of interpreting the implicit Design of other Writings. It is a Practice, which was never allowed of till now, and ought never to be allowed; for whatever may be the secret Meaning of any Author, such Explanations are certainly Libels, which may have a very bad Effect upon weak Minds, and are punishable by the Laws, without any extraordinary Methods of Construction. These Writers ought to remember the Case of Sir *Richard Steele*, who published the Pretender's Declaration, at the Beginning of the late Reign, with an Answer annexed; and although he did it with a very good Design, yet it was universally allowed to be contrary to Law; and, if his Principles of Loyalty had not been very well known, might have involved him in a severe Prosecution. I shall make no Reflections on those, who encourage such scandalous Explanations; and those, who are hired to do it, are beneath my Notice. Let them empty all the trite Common-Places of servile, injudicious Flattery, and endeavour to make their Court by such nauseous, dishonest Adulation, as, I am sure, gives the most Offence to those Persons, to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul Dirt at me as they please. Let them charge me with Designs, which never entered into my Thoughts, and cannot justly be imputed to me from any Part of my Conduct.

God

God knoweth my Heart, I am as zealous for the Welfare of the present Royal Family as the most fordid of these Sycophants. I am sensible, that our Happiness dependeth on the Security of his Majesty's Title, and the Preservation of the present Government, upon those Principles, which established them, at the late glorious Revolution; and which, I hope, will continue to actuate the Conduct of *Britons* to the latest Generations. These have always been my Principles; and whoever will give himself the Trouble of looking over the Course of these Papers, will be convinced that they have been my Guide: But I am a blunt, plain-dealing, old Man, who am not afraid to speak the Truth; and as I have no Relish for Flattery myself, I scorn to bestow it on others. I have not, however, been sparing of just Praise, nor slippt any seasonable Opportunity to distinguish the Royal Virtues of their present Majesties. More than this I cannot do; and more than this, I hope, will not be expected. Some of my Expressions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpolished for the Climate of a Court; but they flowed purely from the Sincerity of my Heart; and the Freedom of my Writings hath proceeded from my Zeal for the Interest of my King and my Country.

WITH REGARD to my Adversaries, I will leave every impartial Reader to judge,

whether, even in private Life, that Man is not most to be depended upon, who, being inwardly convinced of the great and good Qualities of his Friend, never loadeth him with fulsome Flatteries, but taketh the honest Liberty of warning him against the Measures of those who are endeavouring to mislead him. The Case is much stronger in publick Life; and a Crown is beset with so many Difficulties, that even a Prince of the most consummate Wisdom is not always sufficiently guarded against the Dangers, which surround him, from the Stratagems of artful Ministers, or the Blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad Ministers, and pursue the same Methods of supporting themselves, by flattering him into Measures which tend to his Destruction.

BUT it is Time to draw to a Conclusion; and I can only add, that if I were really engaged in any Design, contrary to the Interest of the present Establishment, I should have sat down contented, and secretly rejoiced at the Affair, which occasioned this Paper, instead of giving myself and the Reader so much Trouble.

C. D.

T H E

THE
ANSWER
TO THE
CRAFTSMAN.

S I R,

I DETEST reading your Papers, because I am not of your Principles, and because I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet, I was prevailed on to peruse your CRAFTSMAN of *December* the 12th, wherein I discover you to be as great an Enemy of this Country, as you are of your own. You are pleased to reflect on a Project I proposed of making the Children of *Irish* Parents to be useful to the Publick instead of being burthensome; and you venture to assert, that your own Scheme is more charitable, of not permitting our Popish Natives to be list'd in the Service of any foreign Prince.

Q₃

PERHAPS

PERHAPS, Sir, you may not have heard of any Kingdom so unhappy as this, both in their Imports and Exports. We import a Sort of Goods, of no intrinsic Value, which costeth us above Forty Thousand Pounds a Year to dress, and scour, and polish them, which altogether do not yield one Penny Advantage; and we annually export above Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year in another Kind of Goods, for which we receive not one single Farthing in Return: Even the Money paid for the Letters sent in transacting this Commerce being all returned to *England*. But, now when there is a most lucky Opportunity offered to begin a Trade, whereby this Nation will save many Thousand Pounds a Year, and *England* be a prodigious Gainer, you are pleased, without a Call, officiously and maliciously to interpose with very frivolous Arguments.

It is well known, that, about sixty Years ago, the Exportation of live Cattle from hence to *England* was of great Benefit to both Kingdoms, until that Branch of Traffick was stopt by an Act of Parliament on your Side, whereof you have had sufficient Reason to repent. Upon which Account, when another Act passed your Parliament, forbidding the Exportation of live Men to any foreign Country, you were so wise to put in a Clause, allowing it to be done by his Majesty's Permission, under his Sign Manual,

nual, for which, among other great Benefits granted to *Ireland*, we are infinitely obliged to the *British* Legislature. Yet this very Grace and Favour you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, whom we never disoblige, are endeavouring to prevent; which, I will take upon me to say, is a manifest Mark of your Disaffection to his Majesty, a Want of Duty to the Ministry, and a wicked Design of oppressing this Kingdom, and a traiterous Attempt to lessen the Trade and Manufacture of *England*.

OUR truest and best Ally the most Christian King hath obtained his Majesty's Licence, pursuant to Law, to export from hence some Thousand Bodies of healthy, young, living Men, to supply his *Irish* Regiments. The King of *Spain*, as you assert yourself, hath desired the same Civility, and seemeth to have at least as good a Claim; supposing then that these two Potentates will only desire Leave to carry off Six Thousand Men between them to *France* and *Spain*, then by computing the Maintenance of a tall, hungry, *Irish* Man, in Food and Cloaths, to be only at Five Pounds a Head, here will be Thirty Thousand Pounds *per annum* saved clear to the Nation, for they can find no other Employment at Home beside begging, robbing, or stealing. But, if Thirty, Forty, or Fifty Thousand, (which we could gladly spare) were sent on the same Errand, what an immense Benefit must it be

be to us; and, if the two Princes, in whose Service they were, should happen to be at War with each other, how soon would those Recruits be destroyed, then what a Number of Friends would the Pretender lose, and what a Number of Popish Enemies all true Protestants get rid of. Add to this, that then by such a Practice, the Lands of *Ireland* that want Hands for Tillage, must be employed in Grazing, which would sink the Price of Wool, raw Hides, Butter, and Tallow, so that the *English* might have them at their own Rates; and in Return send us Wheat to make our Bread, Barley to brew our Drink, and Oats for our Horses, without any Labour of our own.

UPON this Occasion, I desire humbly to offer a Scheme, which, in my Opinion, would best answer the true Interests of both Kingdoms: For, although I bear a most tender, filial Affection to *England*, my dear, native Country; yet, I cannot deny but this noble Island hath a great Share in my Love and Esteem, nor can I express how much I desire to see it flourish in Trade and Opulence, even beyond its present happy Condition.

THE profitable Land of this Kingdom is, I think, usually computed at Seventeen Millions of Acres, all which I propose to be wholly turned to Grazing. Now, it is found by Experience, that one Grazier and his Family can manage Two Thousand Acres.

Acres. Thus, Sixteen Millions Eight Hundred thousand Acres may be managed by Eight Thousand Four Hundred Families, and the Fraction of Two Hundred Thousand Acres will be more than sufficient for Cabbins, Out-Houses, and Potatoe-Gardens; because, it is to be understood, that Corn of all Sorts must be sent to us from *England*.

THESE Eight Thousand Four Hundred Families may be divided among the four Provinces, according to the Number of Houses in each Province; and making the equal Allowance of Eight to a Family, the Number of Inhabitants will amount to Sixty Seven Thousand Two Hundred Souls; to these we are to add a Standing Army of Twenty Thousand *English*, which, together with their Trulls, their Bastards, and their Horse-Boys, will, by a gross Computation, very near double the Count, and be very sufficient for the Defence and Grazing of the Kingdom, as well as to enrich our Neighbours, expel Popery, and keep out the Pretender. And lest the Army should be at a Loss for Business, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the publick Taxes for paying themselves and the Civil List.

I ADVISE, that all the Owners of these Lands should live constantly in *England*, in order to learn Politeness, and qualify themselves for Employments: But, for fear of increasing the Natives in this island, that an

annual Draught, according to the Number born every Year, be exported to whatever Prince will bear the Carriage; or transplanted to the *English* Dominions on the *American* Continent, as a Screen between his Majesty's *English* Subjects and the savage *Indians*.

I ADVISE likewise, that no Commodity whatsoever, of this Nation's Growth, should be sent to any other Country, except *England*, under the Penalty of high Treason; and that all the said Commodities shall be sent in their natural State, the Hides raw, the Wool uncombed, the Flax in the Stub; excepting only Fish, Butter, Tallow, and whatever else will be spoiled in the Carriage. On the contrary, that no Goods whatever shall be exported hither, except from *England*, under the same Penalty: That *England* should be forced, at their own Rates, to send us over Cloaths ready made, as well as Shirts and Smocks to the Soldiers and their Trulls; all Iron, Wooden, and Earthen Ware; and whatever Furniture may be necessary for the Cabbins of Graziers, with a sufficient Quantity of Gin, and other Spirits, for those who can afford to be drunk on Holydays.

As to the Civil and Ecclesiastical Administration, which I have not yet fully considered, I can say little; only with Regard to the latter, it is plain, that the Article of paying Tythe for supporting speculative Opinions

pinions in Religion, which is so insupportable a Burthen to all true Protestants, and to most Churchmen, will be very much lessened by this Expedient; because dry Cattle pay nothing to the spiritual Hireling, any more than imported Corn; so that the industrious Shepherd and Cow-herd may sit, every Man under his own Blackberry Bush, and on his own Potatoe-Bed, whereby this happy Island will become a new *Arcadia*.

I do likewise propose, that no Money shall be used in *Ireland*, except what is made of Leather, which likewise shall be coined in *England*, and imported; and that the Taxes shall be levied out of the Commodities we export to *England*, and there turned into Money for his Majesty's Use; and the Rents to Landlords discharged in the same Manner. This will be no Manner of Grievance; for we already see it very practicable to live without Money, and shall be more convinced of it every Day. But whether Paper shall still continue to supply that Defect, or whether we shall hang up all those who profess the Trade of Bankers, (which latter I am rather inclined to) must be left to the Consideration of wiser Politicians.

THAT which maketh me more zealously bent upon this Scheme, is my Desire of living in Amity with our neighbouring Brethren; for we have already tried all other Means, without Effect, to that blessed End:
And,

And, by the Course of Measures taken for some Years past, it should seem that we are all agreed in the Point.

THIS Expedient will be of great Advantage to both Kingdoms, upon several Accounts: For, as to *England*, they have a just Claim to the Balance of Trade on their Side with the whole World; and therefore our Ancestors and we, who conquered this Kingdom for them, ought, in Duty and Gratitude, to let them have the whole Benefit of that Conquest to themselves; especially, when the Conquest was amicably made, without Bloodshed, by a Stipulation between the *Irisb* Princes and *Henry II.* by which they paid him, indeed, not equal Homage with what the Electors of *Germany* do to the Emperor, but very near the same that he did to the King of *France* for his *French* Dominions.

IN Consequence of this Claim from *England*, that Kingdom may very reasonably demand the Benefit of all our Commodities in their natural Growth, to be manufactured by their People, and a sufficient Quantity of them for our Use to be returned hither fully manufactured.

THIS, on the other Side, will be a great Benefit to our Inhabitants the Graziers, when Time and Labour will be too much taken up in manuring their Ground, feeding their Cattle, sheering their Sheep, and sending over their Oxen fit for Slaughter; to
which

which Employments they are turned by Nature, as descended from the *Scythians*, whose Diet they are still so fond of. So *Virgil* describeth it :

Et lac concretum cum sanguine bibit equino.

Which, in *English*, is Bonnyclabber, mingled with the Blood of Horses, as they formerly did, until about the Beginning of the last Century, Luxury, under the Form of Politeness, began to creep in, they changed the Blood of Horses for that of their black Cattle ; and, by Consequence, became less warlike than their Ancestors.

ALTHOUGH I proposed that the Army should be Collectors of the publick Revenues, yet I did not thereby intend that those Taxes should be paid in Gold or Silver ; but in Kind, as all other Rent : For the Custom of Tenants making their Payments in Money, is a new Thing in the World little known in former Ages, nor generally practised in any Nation at present, except this Island, and the Southern Parts of *Britain*. But, to my great Satisfaction, I foresee better Times ; the antient Manner beginneth to be now practised in many Parts of *Connaught*, as well as in the County of *Corke*, where the 'Squires turn Tenants to themselves, divide so many Cattle to their Slaves, who are to provide such a
Quantity

Quantity of Butter, Hides, or Tallow, still keeping up their Number of Cattle; and carry the Goods to *Corke*, or other Port-Towns, and then sell them to the Merchants. By which Invention there is no such Thing as a ruined Farmer to be seen; but the People live with Comfort on Potatoes and Bonny-clabber, neither of which are vendible Commodities Abroad.

The

The following have been printed, but not in the Author's Works, and may therefore be acceptable in this Volume.

ON
GOOD-MANNERS
AND
GOOD-BREEDING.

GOOD-Manners is the Art of making those People easy with whom we converse.

WHOEVER makes the fewest Persons uneasy is the best bred in the Company.

As the best Law is founded upon Reason, so are the best Manners. And as some Lawyers have introduced unreasonable Things into common Law; so likewise many Teachers have introduced absurd Things into common Good-manners.

ONE principal Point of this Art is to suit our Behaviour to the three several Degrees of Men; our Superiors, our Equals, and those below us.

FOR

FOR Instance, to press either of the two former to eat or drink is a Breach of Manners; but a Tradesman or a Farmer must be thus treated, or else it will be difficult to persuade them that they are welcome.

PRIDE, Ill-nature, and want of Sense, are the three great Sources of Ill-manners; without some one of these Defects, no Man will behave himself ill for want of Experience; or of what, in the Language of Fools, is called, knowing the World.

I defy any one to assign an Incident wherein Reason will not direct us what we are to say or do in Company, if we are not misled by Pride, or Ill-nature.

THEREFORE I insist that Good Sense is the principal Foundation of Good-manners: But because the former is a Gift which very few among Mankind are possessed of, therefore all the civilized Nations of the World have agreed upon fixing some Rules for common Behaviour, best suited to their general Customs, or Fancies, as a kind of artificial Good-Sense to supply the Defects of Reason. Without which, the *Gentlemenly* Part of Dunces would be perpetually at Cuffs, as they seldom fail when they happen to be drunk, or engaged in Squabbles about Women, or Play. And God be thanked, there hardly happeneth a Duel in a Year, which may not be imputed to one of those three Motives. Upon which Account, I should be exceedingly sorry to find the
Legislature

Legislature make any new Laws against the Practice of Duelling; because the Methods are easy, and many, for a wise Man to avoid a Quarrel with Honour, or engage in it with Innocence. And I can discover no political Evil in suffering Bullies, Sharpers, and Rakes, to rid the World of each other by a Method of their own, where the Law hath not been able to find an Expedient.

As the common Forms of Good-manners were intended for regulating the Conduct of those who have weak Understandings; so they have been corrupted by the Persons for whose Use they were contrived. For these People have fallen into a needless and endless Way of multiplying Ceremonies, which have been extremely troublesome to those who practise them, and insupportable to every Body else: Infomuch, that wise Men are often more uneasy at the over Civility of these Refiners, than they could possibly be in the Conversations of Peasants, or Mechanicks.

THE Impertinencies of this ceremonial Behaviour are no where better seen than at those Tables, where Ladies preside; who value themselves upon account of their Good-breeding; where a Man must reckon upon passing an Hour without doing any one Thing he hath a Mind to; unless he will be so hardy as to break through all the settled Decorum of the Family. She determineth what he loveth best, and how much
he

he shall eat; and if the Master of the House happeneth to be of the same Disposition, he proceedeth in the same tyrannical Manner to prescribe in the drinking Part: At the same Time, you are under the Necessity of answering a thousand Apologies for your Entertainment. And, although a good deal of this Humour is pretty well worn off among many People of the best Fashion, yet too much of it still remaineth, especially in the Country; where an honest Gentleman assured me, that having been kept four Days, against his Will, at a Friend's House, with all the Circumstances of hiding his Boots, locking up the Stable, and other Contrivances of the like Nature; he could not remember from the Moment he came into the House, to the Moment he left it, any one Thing, wherein his Inclination was not directly contradicted; as if the whole Family had entered into a Combination to torment him.

BUT, besides all this, it would be endless to recount the many foolish and ridiculous Accidents I have observed among these unfortunate Profelytes to Ceremony. I have seen a Duchess fairly knocked down by the Precipitancy of an officious Coxcomb, running to save her the Trouble of opening a Door. I remember, upon a Birth-day, at Court, a great Lady was utterly desperate by a Dish of Sauce let fall by a Page directly upon her Head-dress, and Brocade; while she

she gave a sudden Turn to her Elbow upon some Point of Ceremony with the Person who sat next her. Monsieur *Buys*, the *Dutch* Envoy, whose Politicks and Manners were much of a Size, brought a Son with him, about thirteen Years old, to a great Table at Court. The Boy, and his Father, whatever they put on their Plates, they first offered round in order, to every Person in the Company; so that we could not get a Minute's quiet during the whole Dinner. At last, their two Plates happened to encounter, and with so much Violence, that being China, they broke in twenty Pieces; and stained half the Company with wet Sweet-meats and Cream.

THERE is a pedantry in Manners, as in all Arts and Sciences; and sometimes in Trades. Pedantry is properly the overrating any kind of Knowledge we pretend to. And, if that kind of Knowledge be a Trifle in itself, the Pedantry is the greater. For which Reason, I look upon Fiddlers, Dancing-masters, Heralds, Masters of the Ceremony, &c. to be greater Pedants, than *Lipsius*, or the elder *Scaliger*. With these kind of Pedants, the Court, while I knew it, was always plentifully stocked: I mean from the Gentleman-Usher (at least) inclusive, downward to the Gentleman Porter; who are, generally speaking, the most insignificant Race of People that this Island can afford, and with the smallest Tincture
of

of Good-manners ; which is the only Trade they profess. For being wholly illiterate, and conversing chiefly with each other, they reduce the whole System of Breeding within the Forms and Circles of their several Offices : And, as they are below the Notice of Ministers, they live and die in Court under all Revolutions, with great Obsequiousness to those who are in any Degree of Credit or Favour, and with Rudeness or Insolence to every Body else. From whence I have long concluded, that Good-manners are not a Plant of the Court Growth : For, if they were, those People who have Understandings directly of a Level for such Acquirements, and who have served such long Apprenticeships to nothing else, would certainly have picked them up. For, as to the great Officers who attend the Prince's Person or Councils, or preside in his Family, they are a transient Body, who have no better a Title to Good-Manners, than their Neighbours, nor will probably have Recourse to Gentlemen-Ushers for Instruction. So, that I know little to be learned at Court upon this Head, except in the material Circumstance of Dress ; wherein the Authority of the Maids of Honour must indeed be allowed to be almost equal to that of a favourite Actress.

I remember a Passage my Lord *Bolingbroke* told me, that going to receive Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* at his landing, in order to conduct

conduct him immediately to the Queen, the Prince said, he was much concerned that he could not see Her Majesty that Night; for Monsieur *Hoffman* (who was then by) had assured his Highness that he could not be admitted into her Presence with a tied-up Periwig: That his Equipage was not arrived, and that he had endeavoured in vain to borrow a long one among all his Valets and Pages. My Lord turned the Matter to a Jest, and brought the Prince to her Majesty; for which he was highly censured by the whole Tribe of Gentlemen-Ushers; among whom Monsieur *Hoffman*, an old dull Resident of the Emperor's, had picked up this material Point of Ceremony; and which, I believe, was the best Lesson he had learned in five and twenty Years Residence.

I make a Difference between Good-manners and Good-breeding; although, in order to vary my Expression, I am sometimes forced to confound them. By the first, I only understand the Art of Remembering, and applying certain settled Forms of general Behaviour. But Good-breeding is of a much larger Extent; for besides an uncommon Degree of Literature sufficient to qualify a Gentleman for reading a Play, or a political Pamphlet, it taketh in a great Compass of Knowledge; no less than that of Danceing, Fighting, Gaming, making the Circle of *Italy*, riding the Great Horse,
and

and speaking *French*; not to mention some other secondary, or subaltern Accomplishments, which are more easily acquired: So, that the Difference between Good-breeding, and Good-manners, lieth in this; that the former cannot be attained to by the best Understandings, without Study and Labour: Whereas a tolerable Degree of Reason will instruct us in every Part of Good-manners, without other Assistance.

I can think of nothing more useful upon this Subject, than to point out some Particulars, wherein the very Essentials of Good-manners are concerned, the neglect or perverting of which, doth very much disturb the good Commerce of the World, by introducing a Traffic of mutual Uneasiness in most Companies.

FIRST, a necessary Part of Good-manners, is a punctual Observance of Time at our own Dwellings, or those of others, or at third Places; whether upon Matter of Civility, Business, or Diversion; which Rule, tho' it be a plain Dictate of Common Reason, yet the greatest * Minister I ever knew, was the greatest Trespasser against it; by which all his Business doubled upon him, and placed him in a continual Arrear. Upon which I often used to rally him, as deficient in Point of Good-manners. I have known more than one Ambassador, and

* *Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treasurer to Queen Anne.*

Secretary

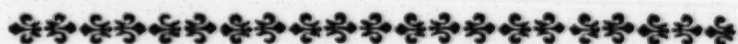
Secretary of State, with a very moderate Portion of Intellectuals, execute their Offices with good Success and Applause by the mere Force of Exactness and Regularity. If you duly observe Time for the Service of another, it doubles the Obligation; if upon your own Account, it would be manifest Folly, as well as Ingratitude to neglect it. If both are concerned, to make your Equal or Inferior attend on you, to his own Disadvantage, is Pride and Injustice.

IGNORANCE of Forms cannot properly be stiled Ill-manners; because Forms are subject to frequent Changes; and consequently, being not founded upon Reason, are beneath a wise Man's Regard. Besides, they vary in every Country; and, after a short Period of Time, very frequently in the same: So, that a Man, who travelleth, must needs be at first a Stranger to them in every Court through which he passeth; and, perhaps, at his Return as much a Stranger in his own; and after all, they are easier to be remembered, or forgotten, than Faces, or Names.

INDEED among the many Impertinencies that superficial young Men bring with them from Abroad, this Bigotry of Forms is one of the principal, and more predominant than the rest. Who look upon them, not only, as if they were Matters capable of admitting of Choice, but even as Points of Importance; and therefore zealous upon all

330 On GOOD-MANNERS, &c.

all Occasions to introduce, and propagate the new Forms and Fashions they have brought back with them: So, that usually speaking, the worst bred Person in the Company is a young Traveller just returned from Abroad.



To a Friend who had been much abused in many inveterate Libels.

THE greatest Monarch may be stabb'd
by Night,
And Fortune help the Murd'rer in his Flight;
The vilest Ruffian may commit a Rape,
Yet safe from injured Innocence escape;
And Calumny, by working under Ground,
Can, unreveng'd, the greatest Merit wound.

WHAT'S to be done? shall Wit and
Learning chuse,
To live obscure, and have no Fame to lose?
By Censure frighted out of Honour's Road,
Nor dare to use the Gifts by Heav'n
bestow'd;
Or fearless enter in thro' Virtue's Gate,
And buy Distinction at the dearest Rate.

F I N I S.



e
e
y
-
d

n

d

t;

d,
d.

nd

e?
d,
'n